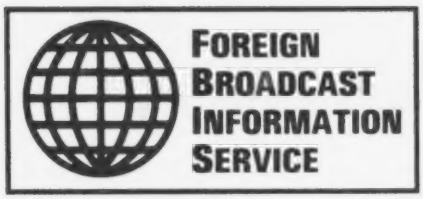

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-200
Monday
17 October 1988

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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Strategic Arms Talks Continue in Geneva 1
Pact-NATO Mandate Talks Held in Vienna 1
Government Replies to UN on Space Arms 1
Canada Not To Use Enriched Uranium for Weapons *[Montreal]* 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

U.S. Inspectors Arrive To Monitor Exercise 3
Petrovskiy on International Law at UN Meeting 3
UN Representative on International Court 4
'Roundtable' Focuses on Visits, European Issues *[Pyadyshev, Sova, Pasko]* 5
U.S.-Japanese Maneuvers, Asia Proposals Viewed 9
Article Calls for Change in UN Role on Cambodia *[Tsvetov in PRAVDA 13 Oct]* 9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

China

Border Talks To Resume in Moscow 20 October 11
Rogachev Comments on Relations With PRC 11
Andrianov on Bilateral Ties, Possible Summit 11
Alekseyev Views Prospects for Summit 12
CPC Official on Socialist Development, Summit 12

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Experts Cited on Ziaul Haq Plane Crash 13
Further on New Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan 13
Vorontsov Presents Credentials 13
Kabul Reports Ceremony Speeches 14
Vorontsov Seen as 'Top Diplomat' 15
Rocket Attacks Continue in Afghanistan 15

East Europe

Further on Sociopolitical Unrest in Yugoslavia 16
'Politically Tense' Weekend 16
PRAVDA Reports Developments *[15 Oct]* 16
Reasons for Kosovo Unrest *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 15 Oct]* 17
LC Officials Discuss Catastrophe 18
More on LC Meetings, Difficulties 18
Inaction Seen as 'Dangerous Threat' *[PRAVDA 14 Oct]* 19
New CSSR Premier's Call for 'Results' Cited *[PRAVDA 14 Oct]* 19
Government Greeting to CSSR Premier Adamec *[IZVESTIYA 14 Oct]* 19
Adamec Thanks for Greetings *[PRAVDA 15 Oct]* 20
Joint Military Exercise Begins in Hungary 20
Polish Premier Sees Soviet Ties as Great 'Gain' 20
Rakowski Thanks Ryzhkov for Congratulations *[PRAVDA 15 Oct]* 20
Ceausescu Greets Gorbachev From Soviet Airspace *[PRAVDA 15 Oct]* 21
Talyzin, Military Chiefs Welcome Yazov Home *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Oct]* 21

West Europe

Soviet Trade Official Expelled From Sweden 21
Further on Visit by Italian Premier De Mita 21
Kremlin Talks With Gorbachev 21
More on Kremlin Talks 22
Gorbachev Dinner Speech 24
Shevardnadze Meets Andreotti 26
Italian Communist Delegation Visits USSR *[PRAVDA 14 Oct]* 26
Perfilyev Comments on Shevardnadze Paris Talks 26
Mitterrand Speaks on Defense Policy 27
Mitterrand Speech Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 14 Oct]* 28

Latin America & Caribbean

Brazil's Sarney Departs on Visit to USSR 28
Comments on Visit, Other Issues 28

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

All-Union Congress of Physicians Opens 17 Oct 30
CPSU Sends Message *[PRAVDA 17 Oct]* 30
Gorbachev, Others Attend 30
Future Health Plans Described 31
Four Protesters Arrested for Demonstrations *[AFP]* 31
Zaykov Addresses Moscow Crime Conference 32
Lukyanov Presents Awards at Kremlin Ceremony 32
Deputy Finance Minister Discusses Tax Reform 32
Latvia's Gorbunov Interviewed on Career, Plans *[IZVESTIYA 15 Oct]* 32
Zaporozhe Deputies Walk Out of Soviet Session 33
Ukrainian Presidium on Supply of Consumer Goods *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 6 Oct]* 34
Court To Try Three Azeris for Sumgait Murders *[AFP]* 35
Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest 35
'Usual Pace of Work' Resumed 35
Women's Committee Cited 35
Commission Visits Workers 35
Arutyunyan Speech Reported *[Yerevan]* 36
Armenian Central Committee Meeting Reported *[Yerevan]* 38
Yerevan Gorkom Plenum Discusses Conference *[Yerevan]* 38
Head of Armenian Culture Department Replaced *[Yerevan ARMENPRES]* 38
Talinskiy First Secretary Removed From Office *[Yerevan]* 39
Replacement Named *[Yerevan]* 39
New Leader in Uzbekistan's Syrdarya Obkom *[PRAVDA 14 Oct]* 39
Andreyeva Counters Criticism in Open Letter *[MOSCOW NEWS No 40]* 39
'Pre-Restructuring' Leader Appointment Protested *[PRAVDA 11 Oct]* 40
Activism, Electioneering in Tatar SSR Viewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Oct]* 41
Kazan Youth 'Street Fighting' Discussed *[PRAVDA 12 Oct]* 42
Supreme Court Plenum Examines Forestry Crimes *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* 43
PRAVDA Praises Bukharin's Career *[PRAVDA 9 Oct]* 44

Agricultural

Central Committee Farming Conference Reported *[PRAVDA 14 Oct]* 49
Discussion With Farmers Reviewed 67

Strategic Arms Talks Continue in Geneva

LD1510164688 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Geneva October 15 TASS—During the past week, at the USSR-USA talks on nuclear and space arms, the group on strategic offensive arms (S.O.A.) continued to work to incorporate the accords at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow as well as the additional advances resultant of the talks between the U.S. secretary of state and the USSR minister of foreign affairs in Washington in a treaty on a 50 percent cut in S.O.A.

The delegation of the USSR set out new proposals concerning an effective verification of limitations on heavy bombers and their armament.

The U.S. delegation introduced another several formulations on control over mobile launchers of inter-continental ballistic missiles. The U.S. proposals are being studied by the Soviet side with a view to finding ways to resolve the issue fully.

The consideration of the question of limitations on air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers is being continued. Along with coinciding or close aspects in the sides' approaches, there are problems which will require serious efforts to settle them on a mutually acceptable basis. They concern, first of all, a procedure for counting long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers themselves in aggregate ceilings being fixed as well as a range of operation according to which air-to-surface missiles are divided into long- and short-range ones.

The Soviet side is for equitable effective accords on all these issues which would ensure the stability of the future treaty and strict compliance with aggregate ceilings on respective systems.

As a result of the work being done, there gradually appear more elements of mutual understanding between the sides on S.O.A.-related matters. But, as was already pointed out, there still remain a number of difficult problems so far. Thus, the USSR delegation again drew the attention of the U.S. side to the need for a solution to the question of limitations on long-range sea-launch cruise missiles with an appropriate verification. It was emphasized that without a limitation on such missiles, the future treaty would be ineffective.

The two sides' meetings and discussions within the framework of the group on space arms also continued during the past week.

Pact-NATO Mandate Talks Held in Vienna

LD1710101888 Moscow TASS in English 1014 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Vienna October 17 TASS—Representatives of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO had a regular meeting here today in the framework of consultations to work out a mandate for future talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Government Replies to UN on Space Arms

LD1410224788 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 15 TASS—The Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that preventing the spread of the arms race to outer space is an indispensable factor of progress in the field of disarmament, of the success of efforts aimed at building a safe world. This is said in the answer of the Soviet Government sent to the United Nations secretary general in connection with the request caused by inclusion in the agenda of the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly of this item: Prevention of arms race in space.

The deployment of space weapons would not only undermine strategic stability but would also place most countries in the position of dependence on the will of a limited number of space powers, the document says. An important element of preventing a space arms race is strict observance of the treaty between the USSR and the USA on limiting the anti-ballistic systems which is an important and inalienable part of the system of international law. Preservation of the treaty is also an indispensable condition for making headway on the issue of reducing strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the USA.

Proceeding from this, the Soviet Union, within the framework of bilateral talks with the United States, consistently seeks to attain agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and on non-withdrawal from it during the specified period. As a result of the consideration of this question during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow the delegations of the two countries were entrusted with preparing a joint draft text of a separate agreement on this question.

Proceeding from the need of a global settlement of the problem of preventing an arms race in space, the Soviet Union advocates the holding of multilateral talks on this problem, a resolute invigoration of the work of the conference on disarmament in this direction. Guided by the goal of imposing a strict universal ban on deployment of any weapons in space, the USSR proposed at the 1987 session of the conference on disarmament, without waiting for the conclusion of a corresponding agreement concerning space, embarking on forming a system of international control for prevention of the deployment in space of any type of weapons, in which an international inspectorate would occupy a central place.

This Soviet proposal was concretised in the Soviet document "on setting up an international system of control over the prevention of deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space" tabled for the consideration by the conference on disarmament in March 1988. The document provides for the establishment of an international space inspection whose chief objective must be to implement measures of control, seeing to it that any objects placed or deployed by the participating countries in space are not

weapons and are not equipped with any types of weapons. To assist the inspectorate in the perfomance of its functions, the participating countries would grant its representatives the right of access to objects intended for deployment in space, would provide them with necessary technical assistance and also inform the inspectorate in detail about every coming space launch.

The Soviet proposal contains provisions which provide for the permanent presence of international inspector groups at all the launching grounds of the participating states intended for launching space object, the holding of inspections at specified store houses, industrial enterprises, laboratories and testing centres as well as the holding of extraordinary inspections without the right of refusal in cases of a suspected undeclared launching of a space object.

The Soviet Union considers that the problem of preventing an arms race is closely linked with questions of development of international cooperation in the field of peaceful exploration of outer space. An effective comprehensive solution in ensuring peace uses of outer space could be the establishment of a world space organization performing both coordinating functions in the peaceful exploration of space and functions of control over the compliance with the non- deployment of weapons in space.

Proceeding from these considerations, in June 1988 the Soviet Union submitted to the session of the U.N. Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space a working document "The Main Provisions of the Charter of a World Space Orgnaization" which could serve as the centre for organizing broad international cooperation in the exploration and uses of space for peaceful purposes only. In addition, the document determined the following goals of setting up such organization: coordination of efforts of states and international organizations undertaken in the sphere of peaceful space activity; facilitating access to and participation of all states in space activity and in the benefits derived therefrom; the exercise of control over the observance of international agreements on the prevention of the spread of the arms race to outer space. The document has elaborated in detail the questions of the structure, the principles of functioning and the financing of the organization, as well as its relations with the United Nations and other international organizations.

In advocating the prevention of the spread of arms race to space and the development of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space, the Soviet Union is prepared to examine in a constructive spirit any proposals meeting these objectives, the answer of the Soviet Goverment says.

Canada Not To Use Enriched Uranium for Weapons
LD1510225088 Montreal International Service in English 2200 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Canadian uranium enriched in the Soviet Union will not be used for explosive nuclear devices or military purposes. Canada's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Vernon Turner, signed an agreement to that effect in Moscow on Friday. The practice of enriching uranium in the Soviet Union has been taking place for several years under this condition, with the enriched product transferred to one of Canada's nuclear partners.

U.S. Inspectors Arrive To Monitor Exercise

LD1410134788 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—It was reported today that on October 12 the U.S. Government had requested the authorization of the Soviet Union for holding an inspection on the territory of the Baltic region in connection with a Soviet military exercise staged there, of which all the countries—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe had been notified last August.

Guided by the document of the Stockholm conference and the interests of strengthening confidence and security in the European Continent, the Soviet Union promptly examined this question and gave a positive answer to the U.S. side.

On October 14 a U.S. inspection group consisting of four people came to the USSR and started inspection in the region mentioned in the request.

Petrovskiy on International Law at UN Meeting

LD1410214488 Moscow TASS in English 2039 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 14 TASS—The Soviet delegation at the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly has addressed a key item of its agenda—that of the primacy of international law and the role of the United Nations.

The comprehensive international security is at the same time a universal rule of law which ensures the primacy of law in politics, as Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, speaking in the sixth committee of the General Assembly. This thesis, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World", contains the legal aspect of the new political thinking. Respect for the agreed norms of international intercourse is seen by us as a major factor of the world's self-governablity and an indispensable condition for moving forward along the road of mankind's progress.

Raising the need to assert the primacy of international law in interstate relations, we, naturally, do not propose a ready-made recipe "made in the USSR". The thesis which the best minds of mankind and adherents of fostering civilised relations were developing over centuries, is raised by us to the level of international politics. And we invite others to a dialogue and to concerted efforts.

The raising of the issue of the assertion in international life of the primacy of law is a foreign-policy expression of the processes underway in our country, especially those in the direction of setting up a genuinely legal state where law, which expresses the will of the people, reigns supreme.

We believe, the Soviet representative further said, that persistent efforts are necessary to improve the mechanism of the international dialogue on these issues and there is a need for an international strategy in the legal field, based on the realities of the modern world and oriented on a long-term perspective.

There is no doubt that a very substantial role in this strategy must be assigned to the United Nations Organization. Implementation of the Soviet proposal on enhancing the efficacy of the United Nations on the basis of a complete and nonselective implementation of the provisions of the U.N. Charter, and of an active utilisation of its mechanisms and procedures, would be a serious step forward in making the concept of the primacy of international law in interstate relations a reality.

The development of the U.N. capacity for effective measures to prevent international crises and conflicts has a direct bearing on the strengthening of international rule of law. The Security Council, as an organ which is vested by the charter with the principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has to play a key role in international peace and security, has to play a key role in these matters. The search for compromises in the most acute conflict situations raises the need for invigorating the mechanisms of formal and non-formal consultations of the Security Council with the participation of the secretary-general and, if need be, of the parties directly concerned. The Soviet Union continues to advocate the holding of periodic meetings of the Security Council at the level of foreign ministers during or on the eve of the sessions of the General Assembly, without, naturally, duplicating the general debate taking place at the session.

The General Assembly has a unique potential. It is through its work that a coherent picture of the modern world emerges. However, the contribution of the Assembly to solving international problems must be greater. This raises, among other things, the question of renovating the forms and methods of its work. The Soviet Union believe that the share of its resolutions adopted on the basis of consensus ought to be increased, thereby broadening the consent within the organization. It is also important in terms of endowing the General Assembly decisions with greater authority.

The Soviet Union favours a further enhancement of the role of the United Nations secretary-general in solving issues of maintenance of international peace and security. The secretary-general could address the Security Council with requests to convene its meetings, to regularly inform the Council on the situation in areas of conflicts or on other questions, to present at his own initiative reports on questions of maintenance of international peace and security, including disarmament. There is a need for establishing a regular practice of detailed examination at the sessions of the General

Assembly of annual reports of the secretary-general on the work of the organization with the adoption, if need be, of decisions on the conclusions and recommendations contained therein.

The Soviet Union has called on the stated, in the first place on the permanent members of the Security Council to recognize the binding jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice on reciprocally agreed conditions, the Soviet representative went on to say. We favour consideration, wihin the framework of our contacts, of questions of using the possibilities of the International Court of Justice in solving disputes which might spill over into differences of a political nature, say, disputes in the spheres of armed limitations and disarmament, problems concerning economic, scientific technological and cultural cooperation.

It would be useful if the Security Council and the General Assembly resorted more frequently to the International Court for advisory opinions on disputed matters of a juridical nature. We assume that the role of the International Court of Justice will be increasing as we move toward universal security.

An important role in maintaining international rule of law could also be played by the practice of holding U.N. peace-keeping operations and by placing these operations on a firmer legal and financial basis. Such operations by the United Nations could be utilised on a broader scale for a practical implementation of the decisions of the Security Council as well as for preventing incipient armed conflicts. On the decision of the Security Council and following consultations with the relevant regional organizations, U.N. observer posts could be established in explosive areas of the world; U.N. observers could be placed along the border in the territory of that country which wishes to protect itself from outside interference, and only at the request of that country. There also arises the question of sending observer missions and fact-finding missions (civil, military, mixed) by the General Assembly upon agreement with the Security Council and with the consent of the country (countries) to whose territories the missions would be sent. The initiative-taking role of the secretary-general could be strengthened: The missions of military observers could be sent on the same grounds, on his decision with the authorisation of the Security Council, above all for preventing a possible conflict.

Enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations, as we see it from our experience, is also connected with the process of internationalisation of many traditionally "internal" questions. This process proceeds also outside the United Nations. It manifests itself, among other things, in the placing of certain rights within the international competence in the common interests. We do not see here any damage to international law. For this process must proceed on the basis of the principle of the sovereign equality of states which on a footing of equality can agree on the broadest possible internationalisation of the most diverse issues.

Before our eyes the United Nations is assuming in the modern world a place which befits it. The broader its potential possibilities are utilised, the more evident becomes the need for radically enhancing its role for building a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

To ensure a regime of strict compliance with the charter, including through enhanced efficiency of the United Nations, essentially means to realise the concept of the primacy of international law in inter-state relations, means to make a giant step toward a qualitatively new state of international relations—universal security. The Soviet Union is prepared for a broad dialogue, and mainly—for joint practical steps that would bring the world closer to the implementation of these objectives, the Soviet delegate said in conclusion.

UN Representative on International Court

LD1410230788 Moscow TASS in English 2238 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 15 TASS—Five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council could set a good example to the entire world community by recognising on joint agreement the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court. This statement was made on Friday at a news conference at the U.N. Headquarters by Soviet representative Sergey Ordzhonikidze. He stressed the great importance of such decision for asserting the primacy of international law in interstate relations. The same decision naturally could be accepted by all other states. The role of the international court will grow along with the formation of comprehensive security.

The Soviet representative noted that differences arising in the political sphere, the arms control field and disarmament, problems of economic, scientific, technical and cultural nature could be referred to the international court.

It is important for agreement on recognising the compulsory jurisdiction of the international court—the main judicial body in the U.N. system—to be shared so that none of the sides finds itself in a prejudiced position.

In the course of the recent contacts on this issue with the American side, U.S. representatives flatly refused to refer to the International Court issues concerning "national security". They preferred to give up the principle of confidentiality, in which contacts were held at their own request and presented the essence of the questions discussed in the press in the distorted light. However, the Soviet Union is ready and intends to continue contacts with all permanent members of the Security Council since the recognition by all of the

compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court could become an important stabilising factor in the relations between them and the entire world.

'Roundtable' Focuses on Visits, European Issues
LD1610195088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 16 Oct 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry collegium and editor in chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN; (Vsevolod Ivanovich Sova), a deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration; and All-Union Radio commentator Vadim Georgiyevich Pasko]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. Last week was notable for several events in international life that had a direct impact on the development of affairs in Europe. One was Comrade Shevardnadze's very fruitful visit to France, during which an official agreement was reached on a visit to the Soviet Union by President Mitterand, to be followed by a visit to France by Comrade Gorbachev. In Moscow, Soviet-Austrian talks were held at the level of heads of government, and these showed the desire of the sides to put mutual relations on a qualitatively new and higher level. Then came the beginning of the very promising visit to the Soviet Union of Italian Prime Minister Ciriaco de Mita. Last week there was also the announcement of the date of the coming visit to the Soviet Union by FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The idea we've put forward of building a common European home is aimed at halting the process of the dangerous splitting of Europe into opposing blocs. This is not a mere declaration: We are putting that idea into effect. What is very important is that our steps in that direction are not going unanswered.

[(Sova)] Yes, that's true. I'd like to draw attention to the fact that the visit by the head of the FRG Government, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, will be a milestone in our progress through what is a very crowded common European political calendar.

I have in front of me the magazine issued by the West German Embassy in Moscow. It has the very good, very promising title of GUTEN TAG—Good Day. It opens with the words: The way is clear: The head of the FRG Government will go to Moscow on 24 October, and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary will travel to the Rhine in the spring of next year. This is indeed a good day for general European politics.

I would like to cite in this connection the example of the just ended Moscow visit by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. A news conference was held recently at which Chancellor Vranitzky said clearly that there is perhaps not a single responsible politician at the present time who can pursue the line of armament and explain this to his people as the most promising policy. The search for mutual understanding, the search for a place in the world community and in the common European home, is today the leading trend of international development.

[Pyadyshev] It's not improbable, I think, that many of our listeners may have gained the impression that in recent times—I'd even say in the last 18 months or 2 years—Soviet foreign policy has been oriented mainly toward developing Soviet-U.S. relations. We haven't been entirely satisfied with the way our political affairs have been taking shape at the highest level with the FRG over the past year. I could note that we don't seem to have been able to express complete satisfaction with the French position on a number of international issues, or with the way the British have been approaching the development of our relations with the Soviet Union. [sentence as heard]

But it is now becoming clear that these have all been transitory factors. The logic of political life is putting everything in its place. Without neglecting the most important factor, the factor of Soviet-U.S. relations, Soviet foreign policy is now beginning to act very vigorously also in the European direction. This is natural and not surprising: The Soviet Union is a European power, and the center of our interests and the focus of our objectives are in Europe. We welcome this positive, affirmative, and favorable turn in the development of our relations with the European powers, and Europe welcomes the vigorous development of the Soviet Union's relations with the states of Europe toward the close of 1988.

[Pasko] In Europe the new thinking is finding specific embodiment in the concept of the common European home. Here for example is what Foreign Minister Dumas says: I see five directions that could lead to the development of cooperation between the East and West of our continent: continuation of the Helsinki process; talks on conventional arms; preparations for a cultural greater Europe; the drawing-up of new projects for scientific cooperation; and the realization of new forms of economic cooperation.

Here's what Chancellor Kohl says in this connection: On this issue, we in the West and East are by no means at the beginning of the road. Construction has already begun. The Final Act serves at one and the same time as the blueprint and the house rules. It is necessary to develop this common European structure without delay so that human rights are respected to an ever fuller extent, cooperation is strengthened, and security is provided not by mutual confrontation but by joint efforts.

West German Foreign Minister Genscher has said something that could be taken as a continuation of Chancellor Kohl's words. In an interview with the newspaper DER MORGEN, published last week, Genscher again spoke in favor of a 50-percent reduction in strategic armaments, the early signing of a comprehensive agreement to ban chemical weapons, and talks on Soviet and U.S.

short-range missiles. Every effort must be made, the minister says, to prepare this October a balanced, final document and to issue, before the end of the year, a mandate for talks on reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

There was also definite support at last week's conference of the British Conservatives for the Soviet-U.S. treaty scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, for the line toward a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arsenals of the USSR and United States, and for banning chemical weapons. Although their resolution on defense confirmed their adherence to the NATO strategy of deterrence in both conventional and nuclear armaments, the points of contact here are, in my view, also quite obvious.

[(Sova)] Yes, one can agree with that. When we speak of the common European home I think we see it as not just a structure for social conversation, but as a serious construction....

[Pyadyshev, interrupting] Above all, the common European home is the home in which the European peoples themselves are going to live.

[Pasko] Yes, yes.

[Pyadysehv] And they must live in peace, harmony and calm, as good neighbors.

[(Sova)] We are glad that responsible politicians are directing their steps toward Moscow and the dialogue is not being broken off, the dialogue continues.

[Pasko] The structure you've just been talking about is being created not only at the level of bilateral negotiations but also multilaterally. In this connection, I'd like to quote an excerpt from a report on the completion of general political discussion at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly. The discussion reflected the desire of the world community to consolidate the positive changes on the international scene and realize more fully and effectively, on a multilateral basis, the potential of the new thinking. Because of the present trends in the world, the role of international bodies is now increasing, and our policy is now directed precisely toward enhancing that role.

[Pyadyshev] Speaking of the United Nations, UNESCO, and other international organizations, I think in recent decades we've developed a kind of stereotype in assessing the work of these international forums. What the public has been interested in mainly is the number of votes cast by the socialist developing countries and the number of votes cast by the Western countries. In the fifties and sixties, when the UN voting machinery headed by the United States was working without a hitch, we were always isolated while the United States celebrated victory after victory. From the sixties onward the correlation of forces in the United Nations changed, and the West and its sympathizers began to find themselves in the minority more and more often. Then, in recent years, in the seventies and eighties, they found themselves in a really crushing minority. If we were guided by the old political thinking, we'd be celebrating our victory and saying: See, our proposals are so good and our position in the United Nations is so much stronger that we're winning one vote after another with an overwhelming majority.

At the moment our approach to discussions at the United Nations and other international organizations is changing quite considerably. We do not make it our goal to attain victory by gaining a majority vote over our opponents. Our main aim consists of trying—after careful, comprehensive discussion of one problem or another—to reduce the differing opinions of the various parties to a single common denominator, so that any kind of discussion should end in a consensus. That is the only correct and the only reasonable approach. For neither we nor other states nor mankind in general needs a propagandistic victory, but specific, practical solutions to acute problems, both global and regional ones, at such a prestigious international forum such as the United Nations.

[Pasko] By way of an example, one can obviously mention the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in the summer. We know that it ended without a joint document. The United States and, on some points, Israel and some other Western countries, refused to join the majority. Nevertheless, the outcome of the session was not regarded as a tragedy. The results of it have created a good bridgehead for making further progress. Here, it seems to me, the striving for agreement is an extremely marked and distinctive feature which is characteristic of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly as well.

I happened to be at the opening of the general political discussion of this current session, and I can bear witness to the fact that it is not presently an arena for psychological, propagandistic struggle. No, in the main everything is being directed at the single, new, good, and healthy target of coming to an agreement on the main issues. Just as before, the main issues remain the problem of security, the problem of a comprehensive system of security, disarmament matters, the elimination of regional conflicts, getting rid of the horrifying gap between the industrially developed powers and the poor countries of the Third World which are needy in many respects, and so on and so forth.

I would say that environmental issues were regarded in a new light at this session. Speaking in New York a few days ago, our representative said that along with the struggle that we have been waging for decades, the struggle against the military threat and for disarmament, at present a new, second front of a struggle for preserving the earth ecologically is being opened up in the world

community. The Soviet representative, who in this case was Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, made specific proposals on the Soviet side for activating the struggle to save the earth's health.

There is yet another instance that I would like to mention here in connection with the work of the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, namely Afghan affairs. The way events are taking shape in Afghanistan at the moment is well known. In accordance with our plans and with the international accords, Soviet troops are continuing their evacuation from Afghanistan. At the same time we are making energetic efforts in the international sphere to achieve an international settlement of the Afghan problem. And now, at the United Nations, the Soviet representative has announced that the Soviet Union is contributing a considerable sum to the fund for assistance in the development of Afghanistan, to the national economy, and to the people for whom the war of many years has caused great and serious damage.

In short, it can be said of the current 43d session of the UN General Assembly that it will evidently be one of the successful, good sessions, and that its main merit consists in the fact that a new spirit is emerging and is asserting itself at this session, a spirit of striving to find common solutions, not confrontations, and to find a consensus of viewpoints, a union of combined efforts for the sake of common goals.

[(Sova)] I heard with great satisfaction from an eyewitness that a few days ago, after the speech by the Soviet foreign minister at UNESCO, the audience gave a standing ovation to both the form and substance of the speech. The proposals were combined organically with a big, ideological working up of the subject, as we are accustomed to putting it. The input was such that the proposals resulted from a sense of conviction and a desire to make that sense of conviction common property. UN activity is not confined to New York. That is a gratifying phenomenon of the times. I have happened to be on business at other international organizations of the United Nations located in Geneva and Vienna. In particular, at the latter I happened to speak at a conference held recently by the International Atomic Energy Agency on questions of ecological safety, which Boris Dmitriyevich just mentioned as one of the important issues. Everywhere a very interesting dialogue is going on on a whole range of issues that are not the inventions of politics and about which millions upon millions of people are concerned. Major, active work is being carried out in all directions of multilateral diplomacy, and naturally the Soviet Union is taking a big part in this work. In Vienna they are awaiting with great hope the end of the conference on questions of security in Europe and the conclusion of a mandate on negotiations to reduce conventional arms and armed forces. At a press conference Chancellor Vranitzky stressed in particular that this will give great impetus to the further growth of trust and the strengthening of cooperation and mutual understanding, of course.

[Pasko] These hopes were also expressed in the speeches by the leaders of other countries with whom meetings have just taken place.

Boris Dmitriyevich, we know that you recently visited the Oval Office at the White House, and in the very near future an article by the U.S. President will appear in MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN. May we ask you to tell us about its contents?

[Pyadyshev] I won't dwell on the contents of the article. The magazine will come out in a few days, and I invite everyone to familiarize himself with this article from the source, so to speak.

However I would like to say that the trip to Washington and the meeting at the White House helped me yet again to make some personal observations as to how the political situation is developing in the United States at the moment. This was all the more interesting because one can count the days until the presidential elections take place there. I've had occasion to observe the development of the political situation in the United States for many long years, and I can recall several presidential campaigns in my time.

In my view the present presidential campaign is one of the least energetic. I do not wish to offend the Americans in any way or to make any kind of attempt to interfere in their affairs through my assessments, but this is my impression. Not very great interest is being taken in the present duel between the Democrat and Republican leaders. Although much more money is being spent on promotion and the political struggle in this election campaign than in previous years, there are not many differences between the political platforms of the two candidates. In the course of the debates—the last one took place last Thursday—it seemed to me that the participants, Dukakis and Bush, had to make quite an effort to find any kind of substantial difference between their stands.

Yes, of course there are differences. They relate to internal questions, socioeconomic issues, and certain specific matters in American life, but nevertheless it is very, very difficult to perceive any major differences and disagreements in the approach to internal political questions. What is interesting to us is that as regards their attitudes toward Soviet-U.S. contacts, there are no great differences between Bush and Dukakis. Both candidates for the presidential post stress the significance, the great importance, of Soviet- U.S. relations in U.S. foreign policy. In the main both candidates support the course aimed at the development of mutual relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Therefore that part of the foreign political platform, both of the Republican Party and of the Democratic Party, can in general evoke a certain satisfaction in the Soviet people.

Sometimes questions are asked: Well, after all that, who will win in November. Dukakis or Bush? I'd like to say that it's a waste of time discussing the matter and that nobody can give a definite answer to the question. A multitude of public opinion polls are currently being carried out in the United States, and the figures they produce show that Bush has recently maintained a sort of stable lead over Dukakis. This lead is a matter of 4-6 percent, but it means nothing at all in the context of the ongoing political situation inside the United States.

[Pasko] There's another fairly important issue I'd like to touch on today: our economic links with the West. This, as we know, is a subject which has been included in all the talks. The visits to Moscow by Chancellor Vranitzky and the head of the Italian Government have graphically demonstrated that there is a very high level of interest in developing trade and economic cooperation with us. At the same time, however, things are not proceeding as one would like. During his meeting with De Mita, Comrade Gorbachev once again stated that all kinds of trade restrictions seriously hamper the development of economic links and that it is time to overcome the enemy syndrome in this sphere as well. Two authoritative U.S. economists, Mailer and Rhinesmith, have just called on the administration to change its policy in this respect. They have urged American entrepreneurs not to wait for the Soviet Union to establish new procedures for foreign trade and joint undertakings with its foreign partners, but to facilitate the drawing-up of laws beneficial to both sides. They warn that if American businessmen adopt a passive wait-and-see attitude, they may find that their competitors in other countries will in the future not even allow them in to the negotiations.

As I see it, the West's interest in cooperating with us creates a basis for enhancing the contribution made by economic, scientific, and technical interaction to the development of interstate relations, with all the consequences this entails for the political climate as well.

[Pyadyshev] You know, in our journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, we are trying to take under our wing several major—well, not only major—Soviet-U.S. joint economic projects and, in as far as our modest abilities allow, to help them progress successfully. In practice, this means helping those projects overcome a wall of bureaucracy on both sides. There are some very interesting joint projects: Active work is being done by Combustion Engineering, a large U.S. corporation which handles petrochemical projects, and by a whole range of others. At the moment there are at least 50 sound and well-founded joint projects at the stage of active discussion between Soviet and U.S. departments.

But after observing this work and getting to the heart of things, I would like to mention that the implementation of these projects is being hampered by fairly serious obstacles arising on our side. Bureaucracy is creating obstructions that are preventing us from vigorously developing our trade and economic links with the United States. I won't mention its name, but there is one company I would like to use as an illustration. It came to us with exceptionally interesting projects for the construction of light industry enterprises. To be specific, the plan involved initially constructing in Krasnodar and Kazan two factories for the production of leather goods, something that our Soviet people are sorely in need of. The negotiations went on for 2 years. The Americans submitted detailed plans and financial documentation to the appropriate soviet departments. They are constantly sending specialists here to visit the sites and take account of observations by our organizations and institutions, but no sooner has one observation been dealt with than our side comes up with two more.

Last year a letter of intent was signed. In normal business and economic affairs this means that the talks have almost ended; the letter of intent should be followed up by a specific protocol. But 1 year has passed without a word of reply from our side. The managers of that firm come to Moscow virtually every month to meet with senior figures from the Ministry of Light Industry. Various kinds of assurances and promises are given, but things remain at a standstill, or if there is any progress at all it is very, very slow.

Esteemed comrades, in this instance I will take the liberty of appealing directly to the Ministry of Light Industry. You cannot carry on like this. This affects our own interests, the interests of our Soviet people. What kind of restructuring is it if we are presented with extremely advantageous projects on extremely advantageous terms and we are unwilling, or incapable, of taking them up? Conditions are now fairly favorable in the trade and economic sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations, and it would be a sin if these conditions were not exploited in the interests of both sides.

[(Sova)] For the sake of objectivity I would like to mention that, in my observation, American big business is not yet sufficiently active where the Soviet Union is concerned. One can see this from television programs: Whenever we want to show an example of specific cooperation, it's always that same old joint Soviet-U.S. mobile pizzeria traveling the streets of Moscow. We also have to turn to the U.S. side and suggest that they display the businesslike efficiency for which they are known in our country, tear down the barriers, and come to us with really big projects. We have also all had our fill of promises about McDonald's hamburgers going on sale, but I can't say I've noticed the McDonald symbol, which is familiar to many countries of the world. Evidently on this one we have to turn to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the new foreign economics apparatus, because the giant U.S. concern has branches in many countries of the world, and it could also operate in many cities in the Soviet Union. For this, of course, it will be necessary to remove all the obstacles and restrictions which we really do have here in dozens and hundreds of variations.

[Pasko] The examples you have just mentioned indicate that we still have a fair amount to do in order to establish the new political thinking. This is a mattrr not only for diplomats, but for all departments which are connected in one way or another with the implementation of our policy of reinforcing peace and developing international cooperation.

However, our time has run out, and I would like to thank you, comrades, for this meeting. All the best!

U.S.-Japanese Maneuvers, Asia Proposals Viewed

PM1310133588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Militarist Pandemonium in Response"]

[Text] The Pacific Ocean has again become the arena for a joint Japanese-U.S. show of naval strength. This time the latest maneuvers of the two countries' navies are taking place in the region south of the Japanese islands. The Japanese side has put 140 warships and 170 aircraft into operation in the exercises, that is about 80 percent of the forces of the entire Japanese navy. As for the United States, a group of 10 ships including the aircraft carrier "Midway" and the cruiser "Bunker Hill" are in operation on its behalf. Incidentally, according to press reports the latter ship has Tomahawk cruise missiles with six nuclear warheads on board.

At the same time as the naval maneuvers, air maneuvers are also being held—with the participation of 550 Japanese and U.S. combat aircraft.

The main purpose of the latest "war games" of Tokyo and Washington, it has been announced, is to rehearse tasks of rendering emergency U.S. support in the event of an "extraordinary situation" arising on the Japanese islands. The maneuvers' scenario, KYODO reported, provides for strictly offensive operations and in particular the simulation of an attack on "enemy naval bases." The attack should be carried out using missiles launched from underwater, from the sea surface, and from the air.

The scale and nature of the present Japanese-U.S. maneuvers in the Pacific thus obviously make them out of the ordinary. And if we add to this the time chosen for holding them, it remains to be noted that this militarist demonstration is of a frankly provocative nature. After all, slightly less than a month ago, speaking in Krasnoyarsk, M.S. Gorbachev put forward a package of initiatives aimed at consolidating security measures in the Asia and Pacific region. The new Soviet proposals were welcomed with approval by the overwhelming majority of countries of the Asia and Pacific region. Even now, nearly a month later, the mass media are continuing to pay heightened interest to them. The Australian newspaper THE GUARDIAN calls them "exceptionally topical." "The Soviet leadership is consistently continuing the Vladivostok diplomacy which is already bearing fruit," the India newspaper THE STATESMAN believes. And the Thai weekly KHAO PHISET points out directly that the Krasnoyarsk initiatives "are extremely important from the viewpoint of the interests of all states of the Asia and Pacific region."

But the White House and the Pentagon state that "military-political dominion in the Pacific is too important to U.S. global strategy to be sacrificed to any peace initiatives." Moreover, Washington has demanded that the USSR pay a kind of "entry fee" by unilaterally cutting its armed forces in the region and reducing aid to the DPRK and the SRV. In turn Tokyo has stated that it will not seek from the United States a reduction in the Pentagon's activeness in the region of the Japanese archipelago.

In other words, the United States intends to continue to build up its militarist efforts in the Asia and Pacific region while encouraging its allies—Japan and Korea—to do the same and to organize and implement in the region various demonstrations of naval and air strength leading to the stoking of tension. What can be said to this? The Krasnoyarsk initiatives, which develop the Vladivostok formula, are couched in the spirit of the new thinking. They confirm the stability of the Soviet course. But the militarist pandemonium which has been the reply from Washington and Tokyo to the specific Soviet proposals is a relapse into the past. Such actions run counter to the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the vast Asian and Pacific region.

Article Calls for Change in UN Role on Cambodia

PM1410150288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 5

[Petr Tsvetov "Viewpoint" article: "The 'Eternal' Topic"]

[Text] There are eternal subjects in literature and art. There are eternal problems in science and technology. There are eternal issues in world politics. On the agenda of UN General Assembly sessions, the Cambodian topic became an "eternal" one nearly 10 years ago. Since that time no session has passed without touching on this question. The present, 43d session is no exception.

Unfortunately, until recently the discussion has contained no constructive elements. The UN resolutions adopted earlier were confined, as a rule, to two aspects—the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodian territory and nonrecognition of the PRK Government in Phnom Penh.

First, however, even from the viewpoint of formal logic, to say nothing of the essence of the matter, the demand for the "withdrawal of foreign troops" is becoming pointless at the present session. The SRV and PRK have officially announced an accord for the full withdrawal of

the Vietnamese volunteer units from Cambodian territory no later than the end of 1989 and beginning of 1990. At present the number of Vietnamese servicemen in Cambodia is only one-third of the number in 1979.

At the same time many delegations already recognize the abnormality of a situation in which a place at the United Nations is occupied by a representative not of the PRK Government, which is exercising with full authority the leadership of the political, economic, and cultural life of the population of the whole of Cambodia, but of the emigre "coalition government of democratic Cambodia." That so-called government has no territory, no capital, and no subjects.

The presence at the United Nations today of a representative of the coalition government, in effect a Pol Potist, looks odious at best— especially against the background of the positive developments taking place in the cause of a Cambodian settlement. The meetings between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Paris, the "informal meeting" of the four Cambodian sides in Jakarta along with representatives of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries, and the examination of questions of a Cambodian settlement by the Nonaligned Movement were not only important steps toward peace in Southeast Asia, they also showed the world community the real distribution of forces in Cambodia. This year's events have confirmed that the PRK Government is both the initiator of the resolution of the Cambodian problem on the basis of national reconciliation, and a sufficiently authoritative force to implement it.

The Pol Potists are another matter. Their crimes are known to all the world. Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, the former leaders of democratic Cambodia, were sentenced to death by the Cambodian people's court. The Pol Potists' genocide was rightly censured by the world public. During the informal meeting in Jakarta the participants came to the conclusionthat the Cambodian question can be resolved only if guarantees are worked out to prevent a return to power by the Pol Potists.

In a recent message to the UN secretary general, Hun Sen expressed the hope that the United Nations would play a positive role in settling the question of Cambodia's place in that organization. "The fact that the pseudogovernment of democratic Cambodia, which is a screen for the 'Khmer Rouge,' is represented at the United Nations," the message says, "is hindering the course of talks, complicating the national reconciliation process, and preventing the United Nations from participating in resolving the Cambodian problem."

The United Nations has great experience and broad opportunities for settling the situation in "hotspots." The services of the organization and its secretary general in the cause of the Afghan settlement are generally acknowledged. The growth in the attention the United Nations is devoting to the Cambodian problem is also noted. In the last 2 years representatives of the secretary general have proposed to the hostile Cambodian sides their own options for untying the knot of conflict in Southeast Asia. These included much that was rational, but they did not take the interests of all sides fully into account. It is easier to do this now. The Jakarta meeting uncovered the first common elements in the position of the participants in the conflict. A mutual understanding was reached that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the prevention of a return to power by the Pol Potists are interconnected matters.

It seems to me that the United Nations could and should play a positive role in a Cambodian settlement and ensure that the "eternal" theme of conflict over Cambodia disappears into eternity.

China

Border Talks To Resume in Moscow 20 October

OW1510162288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that the third round of border talks between Soviet and Chinese Government delegations will begin in Moscow on 20 October. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev will head the Soviet delegation to the talks. The Chinese delegation will be headed by Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei.

Rogachev Comments on Relations With PRC

OW1610141488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 16 Oct 88

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program; report on interview with Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given]

[Text] Dear listeners, the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC has not always been smooth. The new era of friendship and cooperation was replaced by an era marked by frigid and even hostile relations in the late 1950's. In recent years, marked improvements have been made in Soviet-Chinese relations. Our station reporter has asked Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, to comment on the current state of affairs of Soviet-Chinese relations and the prospects of their development in the near future.

Rogachev says: The Soviet Union and China have made considerable progress in establishing mutually beneficial and cooperative relations. As a matter of fact, relations between the two countries have developed in all aspects, with the exception of party-to-party and military affairs, where there is no contact—except that this year the Defense Ministries of our two countries made the first contact in 30 years. I am referring to the joint efforts to conduct aerial photography in certain sections of the Soviet-Chinese border. Economic and political reforms in the two countries have undoubtedly contributed to improvements in Soviet-Chinese relations.

In the course of reform, our two countries have shown greater similarities in our stands toward international issues. Chinese leaders have expressed considerable interest in the policy of encouraging the new thinking adopted by the Soviet leadership.

Recently in Krasnoyarsk, Comrade Gorbachev called for complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations and for bringing them to a level where we can make ourselves more comfortable with one another in international affairs. The Soviet leader expressed readiness to immediately begin preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit.

The regular meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries also indicated tremendous progress in bilateral relations. For the time being, they have met only when the UN General Assembly was in session in New York. However, an agreement has been reached in principle on an exchange of visits by the two foreign ministers. The Chinese foreign minister will soon be visiting the Soviet Union for the first time in many years.

Political consultations at the level of official special envoys are still going on. Recently deputy foreign ministers of the two countries held a working conference in Beijing to discuss the Cambodian issue, and an opportunity arose for solving this issue of a complicated region.

Economic and trade relations have developed smoothly. This year the trade volume between the two sides will be abou' R1.8 billion. According to a long-term agreement, in the next 5 years trade volume will increase to R3 billion per year.

In conclusion, Rogachev stressed: In a word, we have good prospects in all areas. The Soviet side is determined to turn these prospects into reality.

Andrianov on Bilateral Ties, Possible Summit

LD1410213688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] The foreign mass media are devoting appreciable attention to remarks made by Deng Xiaoping on matters pertaining to the normalization of relations between the PRC and the USSR when he received Finnish President Mauno Koivisto in Beijing. Citing an announcement by the Finnish foreign minister, some Western agencies have reported Deng Xiaoping as stating that he will meet with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev next year and that the forthcoming visit to Moscow by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen is aimed at preparing the Soviet-Chinese summit. Here's a recent news commentary from Boris Andrianov:

[Andrianov] I don't think there is any need to follow the example set by various Western information services, which are hurrying to get a jump on events. It is facts, above all, that one has to take into consideration. These facts indicate that so far all that has been achieved is an accord on the visit to our country by the PRC foreign minister with a possible subsequent reciprocal visit by the Soviet foreign minister to the PRC.

The outcome of these trips will become public knowledge in due course. But still, I find it highly remarkable that before Qian Qichen has even left Beijing for Moscow, the aim of his forthcoming mission is already being ardently discussed in various circles of the international public. This is probably due to the fact, the Chinese journal LIAOWAN writes, that everyone regards this

visit as evidence that the Soviet-Chinese summit, after lengthy preparations, is not far away, and that the time is now ripe for normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations.

I don't think there is any need to explain at length just how great the worldwide significance of such an event would be. Commenting on this, the Indian newspaper TIMES OF INDIA notes, for instance, that at a time when virtually the entire complex of international relations is at a stage of restructuring, the substantial development of Soviet-Chinese relations assumes particular importance. There are solid reasons behind such a conclusion. The Soviet Union and China are the two largest states in the European and Asian Continents; they have a population of almost 1.3 billion, which is one-fourth of all inhabitants of our planet. Therefore, the normalization of relations between two such countries would undoubtedly play an important role in eliminating factors of instability across an extensive area and in protecting world peace.

Favorable conditions have now come about for an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations, as over the past few years they have been following an upward course. Efforts on both sides have brought about many positive changes in our bilateral ties, which are growing more dynamic in the economic, scientific, cultural, educational, and sports areas and between state and public organizations. This can all be explained by the impact of objective factors. There are very profound internal changes under way in our countries; in the course of the sweeping processes of renewal occurring in both socialist states, there are an increasing number of points of contact between the Soviet Union and China. The similarity of the tasks being tackled by our peoples opens up broad opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation and exchange of experience. As for intensifing friendship and good-neighbourliness, this is a matter of principle in Soviet policy.

Alekseyev Views Prospects for Summit

OW1710110688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Union is prepared to hold a summit meeting with China at any time and at any place, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry said at a press briefing for Soviet and foreign reporters. He said the sooner the summit is held, the better it will be. On this, our station observer Alekseyev writes:

The spokesman's remarks reflect the Soviet Union's principled stand, which has been known to the Chinese side for some time. Reiterating this stand in a speech in Krasnoyarsk city in Siberia last September, Soviet leader Gorbachev said: We stand for full normalization of relations with the PRC and for the development of ties to a level commensurate with the two countries' political responsibilities to the world. We are ready to promptly undertake preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

The Soviet people are very pleased with the rapid growth of Soviet-Chinese relations in recent years. Bilateral trade volume increased almost tenfold between 1982 and 1987. Isn't this a (?convincing) proof? Cultural, scientific, and sports exchanges have also expanded. The first delegation from the China Association for International Understanding is currently visiting the Soviet Union. As Professor (Qian Yixin), head of the delegation, has stressed, the visit, which has been conducted in a warm atmosphere, is a milestone in the development of Soviet-Chinese exchanges.

I would like to discuss, in particular, progress in the development of Soviet-Chinese political relations in light of the recent meeting in Beijing on the Cambodian question between the deputy foreign ministers of the two countries. The two sides agreed that the talks on the Cambodian issue have been fruitful and have brought the stands of the Soviet Union and China closer together. Both the Soviet Union and China have stated that they will work for a political settlement of the Cambodian issue. Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to the Soviet Union will undoubtedly be an important event. According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, the visit will take place soon and will be followed by a reciprocal visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to China. Therefore, Soviet-Chinese relations in various fields, including contacts between the governments, have developed at a (?rapid pace). The two countries have carried out a constructive dialogue, and the level of the dialogue has been elevated. This will also influence the attitude toward a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting.

Naturally problems pending resolution remain between our two countries. However, it should be pointed out that the purpose of the summit is to discuss complex issues. The practice of Soviet foreign policy has convincingly shown that open and frank discussion of controversial issues between top state leaders is the most effective way to reach mutual understanding. As you know, the Soviet Union stands for full normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. To our delight, this is a stance shared by Deng Xiaoping. In a recent meeting with Finnish President Koivisto, Deng Xiaoping said: Normalization of Sino-Soviet relations will not damage the interests of other countries. We entirely agree with him.

CPC Official on Socialist Development, Summit

LD1510161388 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest October 15 TASS—NEPSZABADSAG newspaper carries an interview with Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central

Committee, who recently stayed in Hungary at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP).

Qiao Shi pointed out in the interview that "processes of transformation are taking place in many socialist countries now. The opinion of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is that each party has a right to determine its policy with due regard for the specific position of its country. Naturally, one can take the experience of other countries into consideration but there is no need to copy it or to impose one's methods upon others. Individual socialist countries should respect one another and act independently. In relations between fraternal countries one should adhere to five basic principles. Only in this way it is possible to form genuine, friendly relations".

In answer to the question about a possible holding of a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in the future, Qiao Shi said, in particular: "The PRC earnestly hopes that this event will be able to improve relations between the two countries. The question of such a meeting was first raised by Comrade Deng Xiaoping".

"The CPC and the HSWP, China and Hungary are brought together by traditional friendly relations. Mutual top-level visits of the party and state leaders of China and Hungary in recent years particularly promoted the expansion of fraternal cooperation. The two countries are facing common goals: the building of socialism and a reform of economic and political mechanisms. Hungary is in the vanguard of socialist countries in the realisation of these transformations. The PRC devotes much attention to economic, technical and cultural cooperation with Hungary and to mutual exchanges of experience".

"Further development of relations between the two parties and the two states meets the basic interests of the peoples of China and Hungary, and serves the cause of peace and progress of mankind", Qiao Shi emphasized.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. Experts Cited on Ziaul Haq Plane Crash

LD1410130988 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 14 TASS—A team of American experts sent to Pakistan to investigate the circumstances of President Ziaul Haq's death in the plane crash on August 17 have concluded that the crash "was caused by a malfunction in the aircraft, and not by a bomb or a missile", THE NEW YORK TIMES reported today.

The experts said that "the disintegration of the Lockheed C-130 transport was caused by the force with which it hit the ground" because "if the plane had exploded in the air, wreckage would be widely scattered".

American officials said "the investigation was hampered because the plane carried no flight recorder, commonly known as a black box", which could shed additional light on many circumstances related to the plane crash. American officials discount reports that a bomb was smuggled aboard President Ziaul Haq's plane or that the plane was shot down by an anti-aircraft missile, THE NEW YORK TIMES says.

Arnold Raphel, ambassador of the United States to Pakistan, and Brigadier General Herbert Wassom, a U.S. military attache, died in the air crash together with Ziaul Haq.

Further on New Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan

Vorontsov Presents Credentials

LD1610194488 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 16 TASS—A ceremony of the presentation of credentials to President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah by USSR Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Afghanistan, USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov took place here today.

Addressing the president after the ceremony, Yuliy Vorontsov said he feels greatly honoured to represent interests of the USSR in the friendly neighbouring country. He emphasized that the USSR and Afghanistan have been linked by relations of friendship and cooperation over 70 years, the relations at whose origin V.I. Lenin and Amanullah-Khan were. Cooperation between the two countries comprises practically every area of social and economic life now. The Soviet Union invariably has respect for the policy of Afghanistan waging the struggle for peace, for an end to the arms race, for the lowering of tension and settlement of international conflicts by political means. "We highly appreciate Afghanistan's support for the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at the solution of acute prohlems of the present on the basis of a new political approach", Yuliy Vorontsov said. On its part, the Soviet Union fully supports the course of the Afghan leadership at national reconciliation which was manifested, specifically, in the signing of the Geneva accords. The USSR will continue rendering assistance to Afghanistan in the socio-economic sphere and will be promoting the attainment of peaceful goals of its foreign policy. In conclusion the Soviet ambassador assured the Afghan leader that he will spare no efforts for the sake of the further strengthening of friendship, goodneighbourliness and cooperation between the two countries, establishment of peace and tranquility on Afghan soil.

Afghanistan's President Najibullah assessed the appointment of the prominent Soviet diplomat as USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan as a sign of the Soviet leadership's special attention to the people of Afghanistan. He expressed the conviction that friendly relations between the two countries and peoples will

continue to develop successfully. Afghans will never forget the disinterested aid rendered them by the Soviet Union, the USSR's support for the policy of national reconciliation, Najibullah went on. The president noted that the new course of the country's leadership, the signing of the Geneva accords and their thorough fulfilment by the Afghan side raised the republic's international prestige considerably. "Despite the opposition of the enemies of peace and tranquility in Afghanistan, the intensification of their subversive activity, we shall continue to implement the policy of reconciliation," Najibullah said. He pointed to the government's readiness to enter talks with all the sides involved in the conflict for the sake of ending war. At the same time the Afghan people and its armed forces will not allow anyone to jeopardise the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The president wished the Soviet Union's ambassador success in his noble activity.

Kabul Reports Ceremony Speeches

LD1610204588 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1530 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Esteemed Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, received this morning His Excellency Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister who has been appointed concurrently that country's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Afghanistan. Yuliy Vorontsov presented his credentials in accordance with the routine formalities to the esteemed president of Afghanistan in the presence of Foreign Affairs Minister 'Abdul Wakil and the head of protocol for the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

His Excellency Yuliy Vorontsov spoke after presenting his credentials: Comrade President, it is a great honor and sign of great trust that I represent the interests of the USSR in the friendly and neighboring country of the Republic of Afghanistan. Soviet-Afghan relations enjoy a good and traditional history. The founders of these relations were V.I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, and Ghazi Amanollah, the leader of independent Afghanistan. The mutual good understanding; traditional ties of two neighboring countries; and their joint interest in struggling for independence, freedom, and self determination have contributed to establishing and consolidating friendship and goodneighborliness between our countries and are powerful foundations for Soviet-Afghan relations which have been developing over the past 70 years.

During this period, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan enjoyed mutually beneficial cooperation in various ways and have worked to develop this cooperation. Taking into consideration its abilities, the Soviet Union has rendered assistance to the Afghan side for economic and social development and for training cadres. During the last decade, Soviet-Afghan relations have developed further. Today our cooperation has been enriched with a completely new subject and practically covers all fields. The Soviet Union has always cast a respectful eye toward the nonaligned policy of Afghanistan and that country's struggle for peace, an end to the arms race, the reduction of international tensions, and the resolution of the existing international arena. This principal, along with understanding the realities of the present decades in which nuclear missiles have appeared, constitutes the foundation of the new political thinking that the Soviet Union has chosen as its policy in international affairs. We highly assess the stance of the leadership of Afghanistan in understanding and supporting our approach toward resolving pressing international issues and the efforts of the Soviet Union to find peaceful solutions to regional conflicts. An outstanding example of this is the implementation of the national reconciliation policy by the leadership of Afghanistan and valuable part of Afghan side in [word indistinct] and attainment of the Geneva accords which enjoy the full support of the Soviet Union. In the future the Soviet Union intends to help and assist in the economic and social development of the Republic of Afghanistan and in attaining the aims of this country's peaceful foreign policy. The proof of this is your recent meeting, comrade president, with M.S. Gorbachev and the visit of Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq to the Soviet Union. As M.S. Gorbachev mentioned during your meeting, you can count on the support of the Soviet people in the struggle to end the imposed imperialist war, implement the national reconciliation policy, and develop Afghanistan independently.

Comrade president, having presented my credentials, I want to assure you that I will not spare any effort to further develop and consolidate the friendly relations, goodneighborliness, and cooperation between our countries and to contribute to the revival and the establishment of peace and tranquility in the land of the Afghans.

Esteemed Najibullah, the Afghan president, welcomed the appointment of His Excellency Yuliy M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, as that country's ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan and expressed confidence that the appointment to this post of Vorontsov, one of the outstanding politicians and diplomats of the Soviet Union, would play a major and considerable role in further expanding and consolidating the existing friendly and fraternal relations between our two countries at this critical historical point in time.

Esteemed President Najibullah added that the Republic of Afghanistan considers the appointment of Vorontsov, with his great experience concerning Afghanistan, as the USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan as valuable in continuing the great assistance by that country to the Republic of Afghanistan and considers it as a sign of the profound interest and attention of the Soviet leadership and personally of His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in assisting the people of Afghanistan.

Esteemed Najibullah regarded the consolidation and further expansion of relations between the two neighboring countries, which have historical and traditional roots, in the interest of strengthening peace and stability in the region and pointed out that the people of Afghanistan will never forget the selfless development aid of the Soviet Union which, following the announcement of the national reconciliation policy in the Republic of Afghanistan, has gained a new quality. Among them one could cite the recent assistance of $600 million by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan through the United Nations, as well as the extensive and all-around direct assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Esteemed President Najibullah emphasized that today the Republic of Afghanistan, as a result of the signing of the Geneva Accords and the sincere implementation of all its obligations and pledges and the realization of the policy of national reconciliation in the country, enjoys special credibility and prestige in the international arena. The results of the conference of nonaligned foreign ministers in Nicosia and the progress of the 43d UN General Assembly session are indicative of this reality in which the majority of countries of the world have gained confidence in the sincerity of the Republic of Afghanistan toward quickly solving the situation around Afghanistan. Despite all designs of the enemies of peace and tranquility and their unrealistic and unprincipled approach, we in the country are making every effort to maintain peace and isolate their subversive actions by sincerely pursuing the national reconciliation policy and will continue to do so while completely ready for dialogue and constructive negotiations with the parties concerned so as to achieve a cessation of war and fratricide in the country. At the same time, we, relying on the will of the people and the brave and powerful Armed Forces of our country, will never allow the enemies of Afghanistan to threaten the independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity of our country.

In conclusion, esteemed President Najibullah expressed wishes for the health and further successes of Yuliy M. Vorontsov in accomplishing his great tasks.

According to another report, Dr Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, was paid a courtesy call this afternoon in his office by Y. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs and ambassador of that country to Afghanistan.

'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, was paid a courtesy call yesterday afternoon by Y. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs and ambassador of the Soviet Union to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Vorontsov Seen as 'Top Diplomat'

LD1410164488 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 14 Oct 88

[From the "Update" program, presented by Dmitriy Linnik and Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Excerpt] [Linnik] The Soviet Union has appointed one of its top diplomats as ambassador to Afghanistan. First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov, a former ambassador to Paris and head of the Soviet delegation to the disarmament talks in Geneva, will take up this new post shortly. What is the significance of this appointment at this particular moment?

[Reshetnikov] Obviously the appointment of a top diplomat to the Soviet mission in Afghanistan is a significant development. It reflects the degree of preoccupation of this government with the situation in Afghanistan. After the initial euphoria over the peace process in that country following the Geneva accords there now appears to be a stalemate in peace efforts.

Obviously, proceeding with the withdrawal of its troops, the Soviet Union is hoping for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan through diplomatic channels. Hence the appointment of a top-ranking diplomat to this highly demanding post. As we know, violations of the Geneva accords, primarily on the part of Pakistan, continue. And this makes it all the more important to have a top diplomatic trouble shooter engaged in the search for peace. [passage omitted]

Rocket Attacks Continue in Afghanistan

LD1510194588 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 15 TASS—Gardeyz, the administrative center of Paktia Province, came under rocket fire once again on Thursday. The barbarous action killed one person, heavily injured six and destroyed 46 houses.

Combat operations between government troops and detachments of the die-hard opposition continue in Afghan territory. In the environs of Gardeyz and Seyed Karam and Zarmal Districts of Paktia Province "the irreconcilables" lost 46 people killed or wounded, among them two Pakistani military advisers. Four rebels were killed and five wounded during an operation carried out by Afghan Army units in Konduz Province.

Summing up the results of Pakistan's interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, BAKHTAR news agency reported that 97 notes in which one and a half thousand facts of the violation by Pakistan of the provisions of the documents signed in Geneva are recorded have already been handed over to the mission of U.N. monitors in Kabul by today.

Afghan refugees keep returning in large numbers to the homeland. Two hundred and seventy people returned to their native provinces of Qandahar, Zabol, Helmand and Oruzgan from Iran and Pakistan in the past 24 hours. All the repatriates were given an opportunity to get a job in accordance with their speciality and material aid.

East Europe

Further on Sociopolitical Unrest in Yugoslavia

'Politically Tense' Weekend

LD1610155888 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 16 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vladimir Dmitriyev and Viktor Kuznetsov

The past weekend was politically tense in Yugoslavia. Mass rallies continued on Saturday. Their participants expressed solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo and demanded an early end to the present difficult situation in the country. Such rallies were staged in the cities of Leskovac where a 200,000-strong meeting was held, in Sombor, Indija and other places.

In Sombor the chairman, secretary, two executive secretaries and nine members of the Presidium of the Local Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina resigned immediately after criticism of rank-and-file members.

The Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina in Indija expressed a vote of nonconfidence to its Presidium. It was said in Leskovac, writes POLITIKA, that "a strong blow was dealt to the party with the political farce in Pristina". The TANJUG news agency reports that the Committee Presidium of the League of Communists at the Belgrade University rejected at its enlarged meeting an appraisal by Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, according to which the leadership of the League of Communists of Serbia had not responded to attacks on Josip Broz Tito.

The press reports that the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia sent to the Yugoslav Federal Assembly the majority of bills concerning a reform to be carried out in the most important economic sectors of the country.

The Yugoslav press points out that the recent plenary meetings of the Central Committees of the Republican Party organizations in Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Macedonia, the Provincial Party Organization in Kosovo did not give and could not give replies to many questions which the Yugoslav people put forth with such insistance in the past few days. Communists and non-party people are waiting for them from the 17th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Working people send clear-cut demands in their numerous telegrams to the Central Committee of the party: The Central Committee must not put up with the fact that some people in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia behave as opportunists, justify the existing situation, protect personal interests and stand out against tasks and goals of entire society.

PRAVDA Reports Developments

PM1610145988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Ye. Fadeyev dispatch: "Situation in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct—At a briefing given in Belgrade the official spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, I. Vajgl, stated that Yugoslavia is following attentively how the press of other countries is covering the situation in the SFRY. The majority of press organs has correctly understood the content of the appeal made to Yugoslav citizens by R. Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, which did not conceal the grave situation. However, I. Vajgl remarked, "inaccurate interpretations of certain emphases" of this appeal have appeared in some foreign mass media. Some people are claiming that a state of emergency has been introduced in the SFRY.

"Yugoslavia does not need to introduce a state of emergency. Such a step would have serious negative consequences for the political situation in the country and for its security"—such is the firm opinion of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. As Presidium President B. Colakovic observed, there exist many reasons for the Yugoslav working people's justified discontent with the deteriorating economic situation, and our priority task is to do everything to halt the wave of street demonstrations and protest meetings. The demands of the working people—the renewal of cadres within the party—do not signify purges and the settling of personal scores. Capable young people must enter the leadership at various levels. It is this normalization of the situation in the country that we need today, B. Colakovic said, and not the introduction of a state of emergency.

As the mass media here are observing, the LCY must play the main role in extricating the country from the ciris. "It will be an unpardonable error," writes the newspaper BORBA, "if at the upcoming 17 October plenum of the LCY Central Committee the party fails to grasp firmly the fact that the historical inaction is threatening in the most dangerous manner both socialism and the constitutional order."

Meantime, a scheduled session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium has discussed the progress of preparation for the plenum. The Presidium discussed a report by a working group which has been studying the question of cadre changes within the LCY Central Committee and the Presidium, and it approved a draft

decision on the establishment and composition of an LCY Central Committee commission to implement transformations in the League of Communists; the draft will be submitted for discussion at the forthcoming plenum.

Today, within the framework of preparations for the 17th plenum, there have been Central Committee plenums of the Leagues of Communists of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia, and the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo party organization. One thing united the agenda of these forums—profound concern at the situation in the country as a whole and locally. Speeches stressed the need to raise the responsibility of the LCY and of every Communist for the solution of the tasks vitally important for society and the party.

Reasons for Kosovo Unrest

PM1610185188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Kuznetsov dispatch under the rubric "Review of Events": "In and Around Kosovo"]

[Text] The sociopolitical situation in Yugoslavia is changing with unusual rapidity. Following the mighty wave of protests which swept through the cities of Vojvodina and Montenegro, involving hundreds of thousands of people, life has resumed its normal course: Workers have returned to their machines, young people to their studies, and citizens to their daily concerns and anxieties; but the situation as a whole is not generating any surge of enthusiasm, and in the opinion of the authorities it remains "very grave and serious," TASS' correspondent in Yugoslavia reports for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. As before, the situation is exceptionally complex in Kosovo Autonomous Province, where the danger of the exacerbation of interethnic conflict—as far as recourse to violence—persists.

Questions involuntarily arise: Why are working people abandoning their jobs and coming out onto the streets? Why is a wave of strikes sweeping the cities? What is compelling tens and hundreds of thousands of working people to assemble at rallies?

There are many reasons. Some of them are interwoven, so tightly raveled that the ends simply cannot withstand the great tension and break apart with a resounding crack. Each problem is a tangle of contradictions, but one should single out—first—the interethnic conflict in Kosovo; second—the country's poor economic situation; third—the outburst of citizens' emotions in connection with the discussion of changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia relating to its relations with the two autonomous provinces—Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The Kosovo problem has remained on the agenda for almost 8 years now; it was here in March-April 1981 that disturbances erupted. The conflict between Serbs and Montenegrins, on the one hand, and Albanians on the other has recently assumed menacing proportions. Under pressure from Albanian nationalists the indigenous inhabitants are abandoning their homes, and this, quite naturally, has provoked a powerful wave of indignation among the working people. At mass rallies the residents of dozens of cities are resolutely demanding an end to the "Kosovo agony" and the frustration of the Albanian nationalists' schemes to transform this province into an "ethnically pure republic" and join it to Albania. Some 3 million people have already participated in such outdoor rallies. Sharp criticism has been leveled at certain party and state figures of the SFRY who in the general opinion of the working people have approached the solution of the most important questions linked with the normalization of the Kosovo situation "sluggishly, secretively, indecisively, irresponsibly, opportunistically, and waveringly."

It is no secret that Yugoslavia is experiencing an economic crisis. This year has seen the continuing ceaseless rise in prices, with inflation attaining a hitherto unprecedented "record" of over 200 percent. The working people's living standards are falling, a wave of strikes is sweeping the country. An increasing number of Yugoslavs cannot make ends meet on their present wages, and this in turn is generating a dangerous social tension. Driven to despair, working people are bringing production to a halt, coming out onto the streets, and assembling at rallies with state flags and banners, demanding a price curb and an end to the process of social stratification.

Yugoslavia is experiencing difficulties in meeting its debt commitments to Western countries; no way can it stand upright under this heavy burden. Belts are having to be tightened, wages frozen, and prices increased. At the same time unemployment in the country is on the increase, with the number of people seeking work topping the 1.2-million mark.

"Give us work," "Good pay for honest labor," "We want to live like people," "We don't want to live on handouts," "We demand higher wages," "We can't keep up with prices," "From talk to action"—such is a far from complete list of the inscriptions on the banners which the workers are taking onto the streets and squares of the cities.

"In order to maintain the work of enterprises, for which there are no funds from the regular sources, the government is issuing an enormous amount of paper money," I was told by Prof Drago Zarkovic, the well-known Yugoslav economist. "If they stop this then the situation will arise whereby the smoker will be deprived of cigarettes and the drug addict of his narcotics.["] The issue of "free"—in the words of the Yugoslavs—money is becoming the norm. The result is a vicious circle: One person picks the pocket of another in order to keep somebody else from going under. So banknotes are being put into circulation with a value, initially, of 5,000 dinars, then—20,000 dinars, and now—50,000 dinars...

Seeing the evil in the shape of "negligent leaders," the working people are resolutely demanding changes in the country's economic and political systems and the renewal of cadres in leadership posts. "The working people," declared the striking workers of a motor-building plant in Belgrade, "no longer want to tolerate a situation whereby, some 40 years after the introduction of self-government in Yugoslavia, they—to their shame—continue to fight for cheap bread and live in temporary barracks and cellars."

The leaders of Vojvodina and Montenegro have submitted their resignations, and the directors of industrial enterprises are quitting their posts. "The cadre merry-go-round in Yugoslavia is only just beginning," the newspaper POLITIKA warns.

The discontent that has surfaced and which is shaking the political contours of Yugoslavia like an earthquake is fraught with serious consequences for the multinational state. And this was stated outright in the appeal to the nation by President of the SFRY Presidency Raif Dizdarevic. The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia has appealed to the working class for calm and reason.

Today it is clear to everyone in the SFRY that it is impossible to normalize the Kosovo situation merely with slogans and hastily compiled programs; specific measures and decisive actions are as necessary as the air we breathe. The same goes for an economy infected with the virus of inflation and in need not only of urgent treatment but also of the reform of the entire economic system.

LC Officials Discuss Catastrophe

LD1510202688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 14 Oct 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Ashot Nashibov]

[Text] Let us turn to the situation in Yugoslavia. Members of the League of Communists from a number of Yugoslav republics: Montenegro, Macedonia, and Croatia, as well as the autonomous district of Kosovo and the autonomous region of Vojvodina, assembled today at a congress to discuss the catastrophic economic situation in the country, the worst since the second world war. I shall cite some figures. Over this year inflation in Yugoslavia has reached 217 percent. The country, with a population of 23 million, has 1 million unemployed. Of course all this is leading to a fall in the standard of living of Yugoslav working people. This is giving rise to protests among Yugosalv blue and white collar workers and peasants, who are demanding an end to the economic chaos in the country.

The new economic policy in Yugoslavia, proclaimed in May this year, has not yet yielded any tangible results. The protests I mentioned take the form of strikes and demonstrations. In the first 6 months of this year alone, according to figures from Yugoslav trade unions, more than 900 strikes—on average 4 a day—were held in the country. What is more, the working people are no longer satisfied with protests within the factory gates; their protests are spreading into the streets.

Yugoslav working people are, to all intents and purposes, returning to traditional methods of struggle. These are words from a commentary by the Yugoslav new agency, TANJUG.

All these matters are being discussed by those taking part in the congresses of Communists from Yugoslavia's republics. In connection with the continuing unrest in Kosovo and Serbia, and a number of other places, emergency security measures have been introduced. Earlier, certain Yugoslav leaders hinted at the possibility of a state of emergency being declared in the country. It is difficult to say what this would lead to, but a statement by the Presidium of the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions stresses that such a step would be a heavy blow to Yugoslavia's sociopolitical system and its international prestige.

More on LC Meetings, Difficulties

OW1510103788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1210 GMT 12 Oct 88

["The World Today" program; presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] Measures are being implemented in Yugoslavia to normalize the situation which has, during the past few days, became more acute.

In Belgrade, a Serbian League of Communist Central Committee plenum took place. A report was presented by Vico, member of the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee. [video shows Vico delivering a speech] The TANJUG news agency reported that he sharply condemned the action of those who, in connection with meetings of solidarity with Serbians and Hercegovinians in Kosovo, have launched a slanderous campaign against the Serbian leadership.

Meanwhile, Milenkovic, chairman of the Serbian Trade Union Council, in his speech, noted that the authorities are incapable of working out a mechanism which would put an end to growing inflation.

Currently, the increased national differences are superimposed on grave economic difficulties affecting the country. This was discussed, both at the meeting of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidium and the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee. Bosnia-Hercegovina, together with Serbia, is a republic within the federation.

Mass meetings of workers, students, and youth took place on 7 and 8 October in Titograd. At the recent Central Committee meeting, these demands were thoroughly analyzed, and many of them were deemed to be totally just. It was also noted that the occurences of popular discontent is a result of the economic crisis in the country, a noticeable drop in the living standard, which is particularly hard on the workers' collectives in Hercegovina.

Inaction Seen as 'Dangerous Threat'

PM1410143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Situation Still Complex"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Oct—The political situation in Montenegro and Vojvodina, where street demonstrations and protest rallies involving working people have recently taken place, is still serious, and it is exceptionally grave in Kosovo. This was noted at a session of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference Presidium, which examined the situation in individual regions of the SFRY.

It was stressed that working people's discontent is above all accounted for by the crisis within the country, in particular by the decline in production, enterprises' vast losses, and the decline in living standards. At the same time the presidium pointed out that there is no need to declare a state of emergency. V. Colakovic, chairman of the presidium, stressed that "recent events in Vojvodina Autonomous Province, which is part of Serbia, have shown vividly how mistaken was the policy of the province's former leaders and the possible results of blind bureaucratic isolation from working people."

A Montenegrin spokesman speaking at the session announced, in particular, that two-thirds of the republic's workers are receiving such miserly wages that they cannot feed their own families. The spokesman for Kosovo Autonomous Province informed the session that the security organs have arrested 42 people who were engaged in circulating subversive materials.

TANJUG today circulated a letter from 10,000 workers at an enterprise in Banja Luka (Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic), in which they demanded that the LCY Central Committee "stop the wild rampage of counterrevolution in Kosovo and put up barriers against nationalists of every stripe who are impeding progress."

The time has come, BORBA notes today, to pay for all our waverings and indecision. This is difficult and painful.

It would be an unforgivable mistake if the party does not clearly realize at the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum that inaction is the most dangerous threat to socialism and constitutional order. The causes that have recently brought Yugoslav life close to a state of emergency cannot be removed without the LCY.

The permanent conference of Yugoslavia's cities and communes (involving 306 cities and communes) supported the assessments of the SFRY Presidency that has demanded that unity be ensured within the country. So says a letter sent to R. Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, according to TANJUG. The permanent conference sent a message to the country's public in which it said, inter alia, that the "achievements of the SFRY's socialist development have been seriously called into question owing to the fact that difficult economic, political, and national problems have been left unresolved for many years. We must escape from the economic and social crisis by democratic methods as a result of resolute and effective activity on the part of all social forces, above all the LCY."

New CSSR Premier's Call for 'Results' Cited

PM1410143988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Government Speech"]

[Text] Prague, 13 Oct—The first session of the new CSSR Government took place here today. L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and president of the government, made a speech there.

Restructuring can only be implemented using new forms and methods of work, he stated. Working people will assess our activity not on the scope of the cadre changes but on its specific results. We must win the people's trust.

The administrative-directive management system, which generated departmentalism, was one of the most widespread and harmful phenomena. We must resolutely do away with it since it undermines the government's positions and leads to funds being squandered, L. Adamec pointed out. The end result—whether the people's requirements for goods and services are being met—must be the criterion for assessing the activity of all ministries.

Systematic, businesslike, nonofficious, and useful cooperation must also be organized with republic organs. Decisions adopted at the federal level must not contravene the republic's legitimate interests.

Of course, it is impossible to create a new economy or escape from the legacy of the past overnight, L. Adamec pointed out. Naturally, this will take time and there will be no avoiding difficulties, disputes, ahd conflicts. But the tasks ahead of us are feasible.

Government Greeting to CSSR Premier Adamec

PM1410144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Undated USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to CSSR Premier L. Adamec]

[Text]To Comrade Ladislav Adamec, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Esteemed Comrade Ladislav Adamec,

Please accept our cordial congratulations on your appointment as chairman of the CSSR Government.

We wish you great success in your work in this new and responsible position.

We are confident that the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to steadily broaden and deepen in the interests of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the triumph of the cause of world peace.

The USSR Council of Ministers.

Adamec Thanks for Greetings

PM1710092988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[Undated message from CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec: "To the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

I cordially thank you for your congratulations on my appointment as CSSR premier.

I would like to assure you that the CSSR Government will continue to devote paramount attention in its activity to deepening the friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries in accordance with the traditions of our fraternal communist parties and states in the spirit of the common goals of revolutionary restructuring.

As a staunch component of the socialist community, the CSSR will continue to actively promote the strengthening of its unity and cohesion in the interests of developing socialism and maintaining world peace.

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier

Joint Military Exercise Begins in Hungary

LD1510135388 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest October 15 TASS—The joint troop exercises of the Southern Force and the Hungarian People's Army to upgrade their field training standard today began in the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic under the agreement with the Hungarian Government. The exercises are conducted by Lieutenant-General Yu. Vodolazov, first deputy commander of the force. His deputy from the Hungarian side is Major-General A. Annus.

Under the terms of the document of the Stockholm conference, the Hungarian Government invited observers from the CSCE participating states to scrutinize the exercises.

Polish Premier Sees Soviet Ties as Great 'Gain'

LD1510102488 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw October 15 TASS—Cooperation with the USSR is the cardinal, priority element in activities of the new government, said chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Mieczyslaw Rakowski, speaking at a press conference here.

The relations, binding Poland with the Soviet Union, starting from 1944, are the greatest gain of the Polish progressive forces, which is of historic significance for the destinies of the country, he said.

The current changes in the USSR, the processes of perestroyka have opened up new possibilities for enriching these relations. As head of the Polish State, I shall exert every effort towards using these possibilities in full, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Touching upon cooperation with socialist countries, he said that the Polish People's Republic was interested in having economic integration processes accelerated. None of the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is now satisfied with the present-day level of CMEA interaction. But, as is shown by practice, qualitative changes in the sphere of cooperation take place not only by the will of people, but also under the influence of objective reality which develops by its own laws.

Touching upon political problems in the country, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that the ground for attaining national concord in the country had now been better prepared than a few years ago.

Rakowski Thanks Ryzhkov for Congratulations

PM1710084388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[Message of thanks from Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers: "To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] I cordially thank you and the USSR Council of Ministers for your congratulations and good wishes on my appointment by the Polish Sejm as chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Guided by the Polish people's fundamental vital interests linked with renewal and reforms—which in terms of their goals and tasks are similar to the thrust of Soviet restructuring—I will make every effort to deepen still further the friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries and peoples. I consider the task of reinforcing the strength and cohesion of the socialist community to be exceptionally important.

May I take this opportunity to convey to you and the USSR Council of Ministers ardent wishes for further successes in the revolutionary transformations taking place in the USSR for the good of the Soviet people, the state, socialism, and world peace.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

Ceausescu Greets Gorbachev From Soviet Airspace

PM1710092788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "From the Aircraft"]

[Text] N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and Romanian president, sent M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a telegram from his aircraft 14 October. It states:

"It is a particular pleasure for me, in flying over USSR territory, to send you warm, comradely greetings, best wishes for your health and personal happiness, and best wishes for new and greater successes for the friendly Soviet people in securing the socioeconomic development of their motherland and in building socialism and Communism. May I take this opportunity to reaffirm my conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries will develop still more actively in the spirit of the accords and joint resolutions adopted at our recent Moscow meeting for the good of the Romanian and Soviet peoples and for the common cause of socialism, cooperation, and world peace."

Talyzin, Military Chiefs Welcome Yazov Home

PM1410135188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Ended"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, returned to Moscow 13 October. He had been in Bulgaria on an official, friendly visit.

The following met Army General D.T. Yazov at the airfield: N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; and other generals and officers.

G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, and Rear Admiral I. Nikolov, army, navy and air attache at the Bulgarian embassy in the USSR, were among the welcoming party.

West Europe

Soviet Trade Official Expelled From Sweden

LD1410163688 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] A Soviet trade mission official in Lidingoe, outside Stockholm, has left Sweden at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The man is suspected of having illegally acquired information about Swedish and foreign economic and industrial conditions. The government received information from the National Swedish Police Board about the illegal activity, which, however, is not considered to have harmed Swedish interests.

Further on Visit by Italian Premier De Mita

Kremlin Talks With Gorbachev

LD1410185888 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—Talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Ciriaco De Mita, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy, took place in the Kremlin today. They were also attended by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Comittee and minister of foreign affairs, Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, Vasiliy Zakharov, minister of culture of the USSR, and Soviet Ambassador to Italy Nikolay Lunkov.

From the Italian side the talks were attended by: Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, Minister of Foreign Trade Renato Ruggeiro, Minister of Industry, Crafts and Trade Adolfo Battaglia, Minister of State Participation Carlo Francanzani, Minister of Scientific Research Antonio Ruberti, Minister of Tourism and Performing Arts Franco Carro and Italy's Ambassador to the USSR Sergio Romano.

The talks, held in a free and interested atmosphere, focused on further comprehensive development of Soviet-Italian relations. The main outcome is that there has been gained a considerable experience of mutually advantageous cooperation, and good prospects exist for the future. The current Soviet-Italian summit, the talks between Italian ministers and their Soviet counterparts,

contacts in Moscow between prominent representatives of the Italian business community within the framework of the Italy'2000 exhibition create favourable conditions for raising the entire complex of bilateral relations to a new higher level.

Business contacts, characterised by large long-term contracts of Soviet organisations with a whole number of Italian firms and concerns, have always constituted the living fabric of Soviet-Italian mutual relations. Italy is the Soviet Union's third largest trading partner in the West. Italy was one of the first in the West to set up joint venture projects in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev proposed to the Italian side to discuss jointly the possibilities of starting Soviet-Italian cooperation in third countries.

The Soviet side made it clear that all manner of restrictions remaining in trade with Italy and other Western countries seriously hampered the development of economic ties between our countries—that the "enemy syndrome" should have long been abandoned in the sphere of trade.

After giving a positive assessment of the state and prospects for Soviet-Italian scientific and technical cooperation, Mikhail Gorbachev said that in conditions when science joined forces with production and was put in the forefront as the motor of progress, it was time to check the real contents of that cooperation against the current demands. As part of efforts to implement the Soviet-Italian agreement on cooperation in the peaceful study and use of outer space it was proposed to the Italian side that an Italian cosmonaut take part in one of the Soviet space flights.

Note was taken of the good development of cultural links between the two countries in the past years. At the same time new efforts were needed to satisfy the growing mutual interest of the Soviet and Italian public to the cultural heritage of each other. This applies, for example, to the study of Russian and Italian languages, to an exchange of experience in preserving and restoring historical monuments.

The time has come, Mikhail Gorbachev said, to think about restoring military contacts between the USSR and Italy. It is a valuable and significant element of Soviet-Italian relations, capable of exerting favourable influence on the growth of trust between the two countries.

The sides also raised other questions of bilateral relations, which had mutual interest, in particular cooperation in combatting terrorism and crime.

Summing up the results of the talks, the sides noted their substantive nature and agreed on the energetic fulfilment of agreements. Confidence was expressed that the Soviet-Italian meeting would give a new powerful impetus to cooperation between the two countries in different fields.

On the same day the Soviet-Italian documents were signed in the Kremlin.

The signing ceremony was attended by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ciriaco De Mita, other Soviet and Italian participants in the talks.

The agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the Italian Republic on cooperation in studying and using outer space for peaceful purposes was signed by Eduard Shevardnadze and Giulio Andreotti.

An agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the Italian Republic on granting by the consortium of Italian financial institutes of a credit line to the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity of the USSR was signed by Konstantin Katushev and Renato Ruggiero.

The founding documents on creating a joint enterprise in Tobolsk to produce synthetic rubber were signed by Nikolay Lemayev, minister of oil refining and petro chemical industry of the USSR, and P. Straneo, president of the Pressindustria firm.

More on Kremlin Talks

LD1410200988 Moscow TASS in English 11947 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—A meeting between general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister of the Italian Republic Ciriaco De Mita was held in the Kremlin today.

A one-on-one conversation proceeded for an hour and a half, and then the foreign ministers joined in.

Mikhail Gorbachev summed up the visit as a major event which can yield important political results. He expressed the hope that deepening Soviet-Italian dialogue which has long been marked by substantiveness and benevolence, by the readiness to discuss openly most difficult questions, this summit meeting will introduce a new element in relations between the two countries.

He highly appraised Italy's original contribution to European and world affairs and emphasized the Soviet Union's interest that Italy's international role should continue growing. "As to our relations with Italy, we are prepared to step them up in the same measure in which Italy itself is prepared to do so", Mikhail Gorbachev noted.

The conversation assumed the character of a scopeful exchange of opinions on the international situation, the role of Soviet-Italian understanding in the profound transformations now taking place in Europe and the world.

Ciriaco De Mita appraised the international role of perestroyka in the USSR and of the Soviet Union's new foreign policy. Mikhail Gorbachev gave a detailed characteristic of the processes and policy of perestroyka, analyzed the causes, objectives and principles of this policy. Perestroyka stems from objective needs of the country. There is no other road. Nobody could offer anything more acceptable and substantiated. Perestroyka entered the stage of practical implementation of the concept worked out by the party. It has been accepted by the people, and the people receive ever more opportunities to control its course. It stands to reason that a subjective aspect, that is who precisely heads the country, is of importance. But objective factors of the advance along the road of perestroyka become decisive already now. And it is precisely from this that the West and the whole world should proceed in building relations with the Soviet Union at the present stage, Mikhail Gorbachev noted.

There will be difficulties. A great deal will have to be overcome. The first two or three years will be particularly difficult. "But we are confident of success, we are sure that our people will be able to bring out the potential of socialism through the democratisation of all the aspects of the life of society", he said.

Summing up the foreign policy of the period of perestroyka, Mikhail Gorbachev noted the closeness in approaches and intentions with the pronouncements that the Italian prime minister made at the beginning of the conversation that perestroyka in the USSR and new thinking improve the conditions for channelling international relations into a new route. Following the logic of armed confrontation they had earlier been oriented at preventing war. Now they can and must be subjugated to the task of building peace. Consequently, the process of detente must not be limited to the military area.

It is necessary to take into consideration the reality of the existence of two military-political alliances, even though this does not mean that the nature of their relations cannot be changed. Everybody has a right to unconditional sovereignty. Interference in internal affairs is precluded. Competition of different countries and communities is a comparison during which everyone can enrich oneself with the achievements of partners and advance in accordance with one's choice. One cannot progress rapidly on one's own. It is easier to overcome problems jointly. Not only economic ties, but also cultural communication, capabilities and inventiveness in maintaining relations with others will be having an ever greater importance for the coexistence of states in Europe and the world.

All of this is within a concept of new thinking and means the recognition of the fact that even though all of us are very different, we represent the sectors of one and the same civilization which is perhaps the only civilization in the universe, Mikhail Gorbachev said. The world is contradictory and complex, but is interdependent. And differences between countries and peoples are not a pretext for confrontation but an incentive for exchange, comparison, competition to the benefit of every people and for the sake of universal progress.

When European problems were discussed, Mikhail Gorbachev recalled the Soviet proposals for a "European Reykjavik" after the beginning of the talks on conventional armaments, as well as for a conference of interested states on the Mediterranean. And he rejected suspicions current in the West that these proposals ignore the role and participation of the United States and Canada. Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized again the importance of the improvement of relations between the USSR and the USA for the invigoration of the international climate and, naturally, for the success of the European process. At the same time he emphasized a vast role of Europe, of the European factor in the destinies of the contemporary civilization.

In its relations with anyone the Soviet Union does nothing that would damage European countries, rapprochement of European peoples, positions of Europe in the world community.

All our ideas concerning Europe rest on the Helsinki process. It is only through its buildup that the construction of a "European home" can be started. The question of the role of Europe in the solution of dangerous problems stemming from regional conflicts and economic difficulties in the "Third World" was also touched upon.

The interlocutors exchanged opinions in principle on bilateral economic ties and possible consequences of integrational processes in various parts of Europe. Mutual interests was expressed that a lag in adaptation should not lead to the raising of new barriers and to a new alienation among states. These problems merit most serious consideration, also on a collective basis, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed. The ideas discussed in the West concerning the establishment of such economic interaction with socialist countries as would promote their economic reforms also merit attention provided equal cooperation is meant.

The situation at the Vienna meeting was discussed in detail. The sides confirmed the closeness of approaches to the working out of the mandate so that the negotiations on conventional armaments and armed forces could be started as early as this year.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Giulio Andreotti actively joined in the conversation at its concluding stage.

The conversation was held in the atmosphere of sincerity and was marked by the striving to grasp the essence of problems, by a constructive approach and readiness to creative and effective cooperation in future.

Gorbachev Dinner Speech

LD1410191688 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 14 Oct 88

["Gorbachev—Dinner Speech (Full)"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—A dinner was given on behalf of the Soviet leadership in the Grand Kremlin Palace today for the visiting chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy, Ciriaco De Mita, and his wife.

Italian officials accompanying the head of government on his trip attended the dinner together with him.

The Soviet officials present there included Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Viktor Nikonov, Nikolay Ryzhkov, Nikolay Slyunkov, Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Aleksandra Biryukova, Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and others.

Gorbachev, who is general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made the following speech at the dinner:

Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers,

Esteemed Mrs. De Mita,

Gentlemen, comrades,

I am glad to greet the head of government of the Italian Republic, the ministers accompanying him, prominent Italian business people and all our guests.

Looking back at today's talks, which were, in our view, profound and substantive, I would like to voice the hope that they will be a good start to a new phase in Soviet-Italian interaction.

An agreement on cooperation in the development of outer space was signed. So maybe some time in the future an Italian national will keep Soviet cosmonauts company as well in a joint expedition in orbit.

An exhibition called "Italy: The Year 2000", which opens tomorrow, will provide Soviet people with an opportunity to see what the Italian people have achieved with their intellect and their hands on the eve of the third millenium. Also these days—and this, too, being in connection with your visit, Mr. De Mita—there will be art exhibitions and concerts by Italian performers. So we can say that we're involved in a memorable event: Soviet-Italian relations are getting their second wind.

Our people have had from times immemorial what I would call a special interest in and affection for the Italian people. From the school desk we have been familiar with Dante and Petrarca, the giants of the renaissance, Mazzini and Garibaldi. Soviet people have a high opinion of, and love, Italian films which have made an epoch in the history of modern culture. People here know your famous scientists, musicians, architects and politicians and read books by Italian authors.

Our countries started building a prototype of detente way back in the'60s. Even at the sharp moments of international tension we have sought not to plug channels to mutual understanding. The Italians have been the first to begin developing large-scale trade and economic cooperation across the West-East border. The traditions which were established in the first commercial and cultural contacts nearly seven decades ago and which have marked a good beginning, bringing us closer together, have thus done our nations a good service this time as well. The experience of constructive coopération between our countries dates from centuries ago.

This cooperation is now gaining further ground. I would especially like to point to light industry and other sectors directly connected with meeting human needs. Recently I toured a Moscow footwear factory built by the Italian firm Cogolo. And I could see once again that Italian workmen deserve their worldwide fame.

I must say that in the post-war period, and especially over recent years, relations between the Soviet Union and Italy have come to have a distinctive emotional-political atmosphere. This has served the panEuropean cause as well. Our bilateral relationship with you has now turned into an essential and integral part of the European process. The merits of Italian politicians and businesspeople, including those present here, in this respect are obvious.

I cannot but note also the unusual role—which I know from my personal experience as well—of the Italian public, various organizations and local communities, mass movements, democratic parties, universities and schools, and cultural personalities. With a typical Italian temperament, they have long and stubbornly been fostering, and keep persistently nurturing, an atmosphere of goodwill and trust in our relations. And this has told appreciably on the development of our state-to-state contacts and on policies on both sides.

Availing myself of this opportunity—the presence here of the prime minister and leader of one of the major parties of Italy, I would like to express gratitude to the Italian people for the friendly feelings and the marks of respect and support shown for our perestroika and our peace initiatives and to wish them peace, progress and the coming true of their most cherished hopes. Our impression is that political thinking in Italy, which is generally distinguished by its constructive nature, is aware of the significance of a new mentality to the present day.

Considering this, I would like to take a look at our bilateral relations first of all from the general European point of view. Resolving military-political, economic,

ecological and humanitarian problems in our continent is of universal significance. The Soviet-American INF Treaty and drafting work on an agreement for a 50-percent reduction in the strategic arms of the USSR and the U.S. have put another major step to affirming civilized relations in the world on the order of the day. I am talking about decisive cuts in the armed forces and conventional armaments of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals is getting a historic chance energetically to share in this. The experience of history and of recent past and, of course, the high political awareness of Europeans offer grounds for hoping that they won't pass up the chance. The Soviet Union is prepared to go far. Naturally enough, however, it expects reciprocal efforts on the other side as well.

It takes walking to get anywhere. This ancient wisdom has been borne out by the progress of the Vienna meeting. The acquired experience of joint work, the difficult lessons making it possible to learn to consider the interests of all the participants, perseverance and patience have enabled the negotiators there to get close to working out a mandate.

A worthy conclusion to the forum of the 33 European nations, the United States and Canada would represent a serious contribution to the Helsinki process—to realizing new thinking—and perhaps mark the start of the first phase of building a common European home. It seems that Mr. De Mita and I have found a common language on this problem. This is inspiring and will, I think, be regarded—not only by ourselves—as being on the credit side of the Soviet-Italian summit.

I cannot but mention here the issue of the Mediterranean. All the meaningful words that ought to and should be said about that highly important region of the world and key junction for international links were said by me during my visit to Yugoslavia. The proposals put forward there aim to make sure that the process of stabilization in the European continent won't be held back by similar problems remaining unresolved in the Mediterranean.

We have not forgotten about our extended hand with good intentions. Any ideas, including the ones we suggested then, could be discussed at a conference of representatives of Mediterranean nations and other interested countries. We continue to believe—and we are not the only ones to do so—that such a conference, once well-prepared, just as bilateral consultations, would be to the point and useful.

Italians say: Nothing can match time in taking its revenge. The dynamics of current world development will take its revenge especially cruelly for lost time since this dynamics cries out for vigorous action and uninterrupted movement to a safer and better world.

There is every ground for taking the view that Europe is capable of being the first to cross the Rubicon on the way to such a democratization of state-to-state relations as would mean a triumph for the principles of equal security, equal benefit, mutual respect, equal participation in deciding common issues, and fair guarantees, which would be equal for all countries, to choose their way of life freely.

Thinking of integral Europe, in which everyone would live according to one's own rules and realize the priority of universal values, we see its material basis in broad-based, voluntary economic, scientific and technological cooperation and in a reasonable blend of integration processes in different parts of Europe. Forming relations between the EEC and the CMEA would open up extra possibilities in this respect.

Ecology is, unquestionably, in the front rank of common European problems. Despite the frightening symptoms which prompt stormy responses from the public every now and then, one sometimes has the impression that the dimension of the threat has not yet been quite realized. Something is being done but the lag behind urgent needs is enormous and dangerous.

Another pressing problem in the construction of a common European home is one of getting rid of fear, suspicion and mistrust.

It is good that both sides have begun looking for a solution to it not only in the scaling down of military confrontation, but also in the humanitarian field, in a calm discussion and a businesslike approach based on the Helsinki principles to the situation regarding human rights. I am positive that this approach will enable Europeans to reach the modern level of culture and morality in their international contacts.

So isn't it worth thinking over the following question in this connection: Shouldn't a house of European civilization be founded in the capital of each of the countries that will find the idea interesting? Its functions will be cultural and informative. It could have under the same roof reading rooms, exhibition premises and halls for showing concerts and films and holding conferences and debates. In short, these would be venues for PanEuropean contacts and acquaintance between peoples. Every country willing to open such a center will, or course, do this in line with its material possibilities, but in such a way as to demonstrate the diversity and unity of European civilization—from ancient times and the classical heritage to the newest achievements.

The atmosphere shaping in Europe is conducive to such undertakings: Confrontation has been edged out far back and propaganda barrages against one another are growing weaker, while objective information is mushrooming, double standards are being replaced with equal yardsticks applied to both oneself and the others and lectures claiming to profess an "incontestable" truth are giving way to realistic and respectful dialogue. I cannot but point out that in our today's conversations with you I found a confirmation of this conclusion.

I won't dwell on our judgements on the world and regional situations. We did that only recently in Krasnoyarsk and at the session of the U.N. General Assembly.

We are aware of the high significance of Soviet perestroyka to international relations. And we realize the responsibility we are bearing. In the presence of Italians one is apt to remember in connection with perestroyka this saying of the ancient Romans: "Salus populi suprema lex" (the good of the people is the supreme law). It is, incidentally, desirable that the same principle form the basis of international relations as well.

Permit me to wish happiness and well-being to you, Mr chairman of the Council of Ministers, your wife and all our Italian guests.

Shevardnadze Meets Andreotti

LD1410194788 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 14 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, met here today with Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti who is staying in the Soviet Union in connection with the official visit here by Ciriaco De Mita, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers.

Soviet Deputy Head of Government Vladimir Kamentsev received Adolfo Battaglia, Italian minister of industry, crafts and trade; Foreign Trade Minister Renato Ruggiero; and Carlo Fracanzani, minister of state participation.

Deputy Head of Government Boris Tolstykh, who chairs the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology, received Antonio Ruberti, Italian minister of scientific research.

Soviet Minister for External Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev met with Ruggiero.

Marat Gramov, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Sports, and Igor Konovalov, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Travel, received Franco Carraro, Italian minister of tourism and performing arts.

Italian Communist Delegation Visits USSR

PM1410143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Italian Communists in USSR"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for party exchanges between the CPSU and the Italian Communist Party [PCI], a delegation of PCI federation secretaries headed by E. Ferraris, member of the PCI Central Committee, was in the Soviet Union 5 through 13 October. During their stay in Moscow, Leningrad, and the Lithuanian SSR, the Italian comrades had conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, the CPSU Central Committee International Department, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Leningrad CPSU Obkom, and the KOMMUNIST editorial office, met with representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and visited a kolkhoz.

In the course of the meetings and conversations the Italian Communists inquired as to the implementation of the practical tasks of restructuring stemming from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference, the progress of the reform of the political system, and CPSU approaches to the problems of economic development, international, and interethnic relations.

Perfilyev Comments on Shevardnadze Paris Talks

LD1510132688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Today in Moscow at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center a briefing took place for Soviet and foreign journalists on the current questions of international politics. Comrade Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the Foreign Ministry, speaking at the briefing, said the following, in particular:

[Begin Perfilyev recording] The visit of the foreign minister to Paris ended yesterday. This visit immediately proved to have been quite significant. For those who have not yet seen the complete text of yesterday's speech at the press conference by Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze, I would like to familiarize you with it. He said, addressing his remarks to journalists in particular: Some of your colleagues hastened to make predictions about the success of our visit. I congratulate them. They haven't been mistaken. Now that the visit is completed, we can rightly say quite definitely that it in fact turned out to be successful.

It must be said that these conversations covered a broad range of subjects, above all with President Mitterrand, with Prime Minister Rocard, in the National Assembly—where the chairman is a well-known French politician—Fabius, and with Poher in the Senate. The conversations concentrated on current fundamental questions both in international relations and in our bilateral relations.

We have established, in connection with this visit, that both the Soviet Union and the French Republic value the preservation of the privileged character of our relations, and are concerned not only with continuing the dialogue, but also with raising it to level that corresponds to the place our countries hold in European and world politics. In this connection it is not only important that the contacts that have taken place have highlighted the growth of potential for mutual understanding, but they have allowed (?us to reach) the conclusion that it is necessary for setting this understanding on the road of joint action. It can be noted with satisfaction that this

work has prepared the ground for the upcoming Franco-Soviet summit in Moscow—as you know it is set for the end of November with the arrival here of President Mitterrand—to take place in a constructive atmosphere and conclude with positive, tangible results.

If we are to enumerate very briefly the main themes of the talks, then of course these consist of the problematics of disarmament, in which Victor Pavlovich Karpov, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Administration, represented our side. Here it is felt, at the plenary session and in the working group, that there is a real coming together of our positions and a common view of the chain of priorities in this sphere. It goes without saying that we have informed the French side in detail about the state of Soviet-U.S. talks on the reduction of strategic weaponry under the conditions of observing the ABM Treaty. We noted a mutual interest in creating an international agency for space observation and in beginning to elaborate the idea of a space organization.

The Soviet delegation is happy with the results of the exchange of views on chemical weapons; the readiness of France not to produce chemical weapons from the moment a convention on banning them comes into force, opens up additional possibilities for our cooperation. As far as the current meeting in Vienna is concerned, in our opinion just a single step is left in order to complete the work with real results and to deal with a task that has priority for European security—to start talks between 23 states on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. It goes without saying that the talks with 35 states on measures to increase trust and security are tense. During the course of these talks we have considered the proposal by President Mitterrand concerning the reduction of troops and weaponry along the line of contact between the two military-political groupings. This proposal was put forward at the session of the UN General Assembly now taking place. You know that this proposal has much in common with the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact to create a corridor in which there is a reduced level of armaments. Another subject for specific conversation was those obstacles that interfere with the consistent implementation of all the articles of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the reestablishment of peace in that country on the basis of the implementation of the idea of national reconciliation. We are quite convinced that the civil war in Afghanistan, it goes with our saying, is not in the interests of the USSR or of France or of the entire international community. We consider that many of our partners, including France, can assist more actively in fulfilling the Geneva accords. [end recording]

Mitterrand Speaks on Defense Policy

LD1210193988 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 12 TASS—Speaking at the Institute for the Study of National Defense Problems, French President Francois Mitterrand said that France did not take upon itself the mission of ensuring defense of other West European countries, because that was the prerogative of the North Atlantic Organisation.

The head of the French state also stressed that France was not going to reconsider its present status and forgo the current independence of its armed forces from the NATO united command. However, he did not rule out the possibility of "coming to aid" in the event of crisis situations "beyond French borders" with the help of various means, including nuclear weapons.

Francois Mitterrand reaffirmed that France fully and without any reservations supported the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of medium-and shorter-range missiles, describing the agreement as one of the most important events in postwar history. France intellectually, psychologically and morally subscribed to the idea of the need for disarmament, he said. However, he pointed out that France did not intend to join the process of reducing nuclear strategic armaments until the strategic nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers reached a balance, comparable with that of France.

On the problems of militarization of outer space, Francois Mitterrand stressed that such development must be ruled out and reaffirmed his negative attitude to the American Strategic Defense Initiative.

On the problem of reducing conventional arms in Europe, the president insisted that there existed the so-called "strong and dangerous asymmetry in favour of the Warsaw Treaty states." He pointed out that France paid much attention to the question of modernising conventional weapons.

Francois Mitterrand reaffirmed official Paris' commitment to the doctrine of the so-called nuclear deterrence. He alleged that that doctrine would aim at hampering and preventing a possible conflict rather than at winning a war.

As a priority direction in the development of the French nuclear forces, the president put forward modernisation of nuclear submarines capable of launching missiles with nuclear warheads. He also reaffirmed the striving to preserve in the future French ballistic missiles on the Albion Plateau, because the small size of French territory made it impossible to deploy mobile missiles.

Speaking about the prospects for building up the country's military potential, the president also stressed that France would strictly abide by the principle, under which it would never refuse to possess any kind of weapon which other powers possess. He also pointed out that France was capable of developing neutron weapons at any time. Francois Mitterrand said that France did not intend to reject the possibility of possessing other types of weapons until a new convention eliminating chemical weapons was signed.

Mitterrand Speech Viewed

PM1710123388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "Speech by F. Mitterrand"]

[Text] Paris—President F. Mitterrand has set out the basic aspects of French defense policy in a speech at the Paris Institute of Higher National Defense Studies.

He reaffirmed France's commitment to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, which, he says, "aims not to win a war but to prevent it." In his speech the president underlined the need to modernize nuclear forces. Our conventional armed forces, he said, cannot act as a substitute for nuclear deterrence, they can only supplement it... Our Army is a unified whole. France, he noted, has no intention of renouncing any type of weapon which other states possess.

At the same time, the head of state again highly appraised the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, terming it the most important event in the whole of postwar history. F. Mitterrand expressed the hope that France will be linked with the disarmament process in the intellectual, psychological, and moral respects. He also spoke out against placing weapons in space, which would mean an arms race in space.

The president devoted a substantial portion of his speech to questions of creating a European defense. Saying that "Europe cannot exist without defense," F. Mitterrand remarked that he is in favor of creating this defense and is patiently seeking ways leading to it, but at the same time is aware of all the difficulties.

"France's mission," the president emphasized, "is not to ensure the defense of other West European countries. That is the mission of the North Atlantic alliance. France must determine where its vital interests lie, which could be outside the country." France, the president pointed out, would instantly come to the aid (of the FRG in the event of a military conflict—Yu.K.) with all its forces, including its nuclear forces, provided that this operation were carried out within the NATO framework. In this connection the president noted the need to "cement NATO's European pillar" and strengthen French-West German military cooperation.

Touching on the subject of Paris' participation in the disarmament process, F. Mitterrand linked this with a Soviet and U.S. reduction of their nuclear arsenals to a level comparable with that of the French and with removal of the present imbalance in the sphere of conventional weapons. Confirming the statement he made recently in the United Nations with regard to chemical weapons, the head of state proposed that an international conference be held in Paris to discuss the question of banning not only tests of these weapons but also their production.

Observers and specialists have yet to carefully analyze the speech by the French president, which is a program document in many ways, but even now they can draw a basic conclusion: Paris is still gambling on the doctrine of nuclear deterrence and intends to modernize its own nuclear forces and be one of the main pioneers in the creation of "European defense."

But, despite all this, some observers—and J.-P. Ravery in L'HUMANITE, in particular—believe that in his speech F. Mitterrand showed a desire to reorient French foreign policy and defense policy in the light of the changes taking place in the world, primarily the start of the nuclear disarmament process.

Latin America & Caribbean

Brazil's Sarney Departs on Visit to USSR

LD1410232988 Moscow TASS in English 2313 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Brasilia October 15 TASS—Jose Sarney, president of the Federative Republic of Brazil, on Friday left on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government. After a short stop-over in France he will arrive in Moscow on October 17 for talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Replying to journalists' questions at the airport of the Brazilian capital, the president stressed that since assumption to power the civilian government, led by him, steered the course on raising Soviet-Brazilian relations to a higher level. The current visit should be viewed as a high point in the process of rapprochement. It would lead to the signing of important documents in various fields of cooperation. We go to the Soviet Union, Jose Sarney said, with a feeling that a new stage begins in our relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

Comments on Visit, Other Issues

LD1410145688 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Brasilia October 14 TASS—"Brazil builds it foreign policy on profound respect for the principles of peace and cooperation among nations", President Jose Sarney of Brazil said in a TASS interview in the run-up to his official visit to the USSR. In the interview the head of the Brazilian state expressed his view on burning international issues and questions of relations between the USSR and Brazil.

"Meaningful progress has been observed in the disarmament field and in settling regional conflicts in recent months", Sarney stressed. "This is a good signal for all

countries. The Brazilian Government received with satisfaction the conclusion of the Soviet-American Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. We hope that this historic agreement will open the way to new scopeful agreements in other disarmament fields".

On Brazil's foreign policy, the president said that his country firmly rejected the policy of hegemonism and advocated scrupulous compliance by all countries with the principles of the U.N. Charter, total and global disarmament under international control, the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order, and also the settlement of regional conflicts through peaceful means. In view of this, Sarney emphasized that Brazil supported the mediation efforts by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The president named the principles on which, in his view, global efforts in the disarmament field should be based. Among them is equal concern for the security of all states, the realization that the geographic spread of nuclear weapons undermines the positions of many states which renounced the possession of this weapon, that the standard of industrial and technological development does not absolve any country from the responsibility to observe and respect the measures for disarmament envisaged in international treaties, the principle of relationship between disarmament and non-militarization of space.

"Brazil attaches priority importance to peace and development. In the name of these objectives it pursues the universal foreign policy and maintains broad and multifarious ties with virtually all states. Naturally, Brazil's relations with neighbouring countries are more intensive than with geographically remote states. This does not mean, however, that Brazil is not interested in raising cooperation with other countries to a higher level. I am confident that the trip to the Soviet Union will become an important milestone in the development of mutually advantageous relations between the two countries", Sarney stressed.

Touching upon the problem of regional conflicts, the president expressed high appreciation of the fact of signing Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the holding of direct talks by Iran and Iraq for the purpose of finding a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in the Persian Gulf. He welcomed progress at the quadripartite talks on southern Africa in the light of Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council.

As a country acting on the U.N. Charter, Brazil regards with satisfaction all those processes as a manifestation of the growing role assigned to the U.N. in the preservation of peace and the consolidation of international security. It is important for this atmosphere to spread to other spheres of U.N. activities.

Answering a question about prospects of Soviet-Brazilian relations, Jose Sarney pointed out that after a long period when bilateral relations had not measured up to their real potentialities they had been given a new impetus in the past several years. Thus, after 1985 Olavo Setubal, then minister of foreign affairs of Brazil, visited the USSR and his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze visited Brazil. A memorandum of understanding on political consultations, an agreement on cultural cooperation and an agreement on a long-term program of economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation were signed.

"In my opinion, Brazilian-Soviet relations are fundamentally dynamic today, and we are trying to raise them to a level meeting the interests of both countries. I would even put it in this way: Our relations are developing towards becoming an example of how the relations between countries with different development levels and different social systems should be built.

"I shall have the honour to become the first Brazilian leader to pay an official visit to the USSR, a great country. I believe that it will reflect Brazil's serious attitude to our bilateral relations and the significance it attaches to them. I regard the visit to the USSR as an event of outstanding importance, as a historic fact whose importance for the development of our relations will be confirmed and augmented in the future.

"I regard the rapprochement between Brazil and the Soviet Union as a contribution to the cause of universal peace, since we are showing that countries each of whom made a political choice of its own, countries that have different socio-economic systems can understand each other and coexist on a mutually advantageous basis.

"I should like to point out in conclusion that the visit to the Soviet Union is of great interest to me personally. I devoted the whole of my life not only to politics, but also to literature, and it has long been a dream of mine to see the homeland of Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy, Turgenev and Chekhov, to see a country where they wrote their works. When my dream comes true, it will be a special pleasure to me".

Political & Social

All-Union Congress of Physicians Opens 17 Oct

CPSU Sends Message

PM1710104788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated CPSU Central Committee message to USSR All-Union Congress of Physicians]

[Text] To the All-Union Congress of Physicians:

Dear Comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets the delegates to the All-Union Physicians' Congress.

The 27th CPSU Congress placed people and their needs and aspirations at the focus of all our concerns and plans. The party sees the protection of the people's health as a political task—one of the most important in our day-to-day work.

Emissaries of the Soviet public health system, the best representatives of those who have the lives and health of Soviet people in their hands, have assembled today in the Kremlin. The party rates highly the noble labor of medical personnel. The physician's role in our society is infinitely crucial and active.

The public health service is a very important gain of Great October. Generally accessible, free state forms of medical assistance, the preventive approach, the intrinsic link with science and democracy—these are the most progressive principles of Soviet health organization today.

In greeting you on this day of celebration, the Central Committee deems it necessary also to talk about the shortcomings in public health activity. The standard and quality of medical assistance do not fully meet the Soviet people's increased needs. Not enough is being done to put collectives' advanced work experience and effective new methods of disease prevention, detection, and treatment into practice. The state of affairs in the area of protecting the health of mother and child gives rise to particular anxiety. Public health problems are particularly acute in the countryside. The national economy is suffering greatly because of the loss of able-bodied workers, employees, and kolkhoz members due to diseases and injury and the need to tend sick children. Medico-biological research in leading areas of medicine falls considerably short of modern standards.

The restructuring of public health and medical science demands fundamental changes in the training of cadres and enhancement of their responsibility for the job. Instilling in doctors a sense of duty to the people and the country, a striving for professional competence, and a high degree of morality and mercy—this is the main task set by life.

The development of the national economy demands the intensification of its social hygiene orientation and care of the environment and of human beings. The establishment of a healthy way of life and the creation of optimal working and living conditions play a special part in this.

The long-term state program that has been elaborated to improve public health and the concrete measures that have been adopted to implement it demand hard day-to-day work by all public health institutions and all medical collectives. Success in this will largely depend on how far party committees and soviets are able to unite the efforts of public health practice, science, industry, the social sphere as a whole, and public organizations in the solution of the tasks set by the party.

The medical community is having an increasingly marked influence on easing tension in the international situation and developing and deepening ties between peoples on a humanitarian, genuinely human basis. The "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" movement is an active partiipant in antiwar actions. Life today urgently demands that progressive forces do not relax their efforts in the struggle for peace.

You are all united by virtue of belonging to a fine and noble profession, to the body of doctors—people ever ready to come to people's aid.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses firm confidence that Soviet medical personnel will do everything possible to further improve the protection of people's health and will increase the public health system's contribution to the development of socialist society. May you succeed, dear comrades, in your difficult work which is to vital to our people.

The CPSU Central Committee.

Gorbachev, Others Attend

LD1710082588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] The All-Union Congress of Physicians began its work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 30 minutes ago. The delegates and guests greeted with applause Comrades Gorbachev, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, and Baklanov. Acadamecian Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, USSR minister of health, is delivering a report.

Future Health Plans Described

LD1710093288 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—An all-union congress of physicians began in the Kremlin today, with 4,873 delegates participating. Representatives of party, local-government and trade union organisations, directors of industrial enterprises and agricultural workers will take part together with physicians in free discussions on health care development problems.

The congress is being attended by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and by other Soviet leaders.

Among the guests of the congress are Hiroshi Nakajima, director general of the World Health Organisation, Bernard Lown, co-chairman of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, health officials, and medical scientists from 12 countries.

The CPSU Central Committee's message of greetings to the All-Union Congress of Physicians points out that "People's health care is the major achievement of the Great October Revolution. The general accessibility, the free nature of state forms of medical aid, the orientation towards prevention of diseases, the organic connection with science, and democratism are now the most progressive principles of the organisation of Soviet health care."

The convocation of the congress is an illustration of deep changes in the country's life and in the tackling of social problems. Broad sections of the public are now being actively drawn into the process. Such congresses have not been held for a long time—the previous one was held in 1925. The fact that physicians did not participate in an open and democratic solution to the problems of medicine had negative consequences. There were incidentally quite a number of other causes—the neglect of the Leninist principles of the priority of the social sphere already in the 1930's the command-and-administer methods of management, the insufficient financing and extensive development—which brought about serious problems in the activities of health services.

The Soviet Union created the world's first nation-wide system of health care which ensures free medical aid for all citizens of the country. Its achievements are indisputable: The overall mortality rate decreased by more than 66.7 per cent over the years of the Soviet power and child mortality rate dropped by 90.9 percent. Life expectancy has doubled, and many dangerous infectious diseases have been stamped out. But the resources of the country's medicine are utilised by no means to the full. There are now 1.2 million physicians in the Soviet Union as well as 40,000 outpatient departments and polyclinics where ten million people apply every day. Hospital accommodation is more than 3.7 million beds. Despite all these figures a serious dissatisfaction with the operation of medical services is being expressed. In many respects the problems originated owing to inadequate material and technical basis of health care and the level of physicians' qualification.

Energetic measures are being taken now to change the situation. The state has considerably increased the financing of health care: More than 190,000 million roubles have been allocated for the period ending in the year 1995. Big construction programs have been drawn: For example, 150 diagnosis centres fitted out with the newest equipment will open. Up to one thousand people will be able to undergo examination there every day. Another 15 cardiosurgery centres will begin to function, which will make it possible fully to meet requirements for this kind of aid. Many other specialised medical institutions will be inaugurated.

A pharmaceutical industry development strategy has been determined so that the medical service would be fully provided with medicines by the year 1993. A high rate for the manufacture of medical equipment has been suggested: Next five year plan period it will increase 2.5 times over. Medical education is being reorganized. The adopted program for the development of health care is intended for a long period ahead: It will take time to ensure the rendering of highly qualified medical aid to the entire population.

Four Protesters Arrested for Demonstrations

AU1410162988 Paris AFP in English 1603 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 14 (AFP)—Three militant members of the independent Democratic Union party and a member of the "Freedom of emigration for all" group were jailed for 15 days each for demonstrating here last week, a spokesman for the Democratic Union said Friday.

They are Yuriy Nikulin, Eduard Molchanov, and Viktor Sudakov of the Democratic Union, and Viktor Sergeyev, who started a hunger-strike, according to spokesman Yuriy Mitiunov.

One of the better known figures of the Democratic Union, Valeria Novodvorskaya, was arrested on Wednesday and fined 1,000 rubles (1,600 dollars) for telling passers-by in central Moscow why the union had demonstrated five days earlier, Mr. Mitiunov added.

She has entered a hunger strike "out of solidarity with her detained comrades."

Police had rapidly and brutally ended the demonstration for a "democratization" of the Soviet Constitution in Pushkin Square on October 7, which is officially celebrated as Constitution Day, and about 20 people were arrested.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Crime Conference

LD1410211388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] The state of affairs with public order and the fight against crime in Moscow is still unsatisfactory and is causing serious concern among the city's inhabitants. Immediate, resolute, and most importantly, effective measures must be taken to improve law and order, and there is a need for party, local soviet, trade union, and Komsomol bodies, public organizations, and labor collectives to cooperate closely in this.

This was stated at a conference held by the Moscow party economic aktiv on 14 October to discuss progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the state of the fight against crime in the country and additional measures for preventing infringements of the law.

Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Commitee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, spoke at the conference. Taking part in the conference were USSR Procurator General Sukharev and heads of a number of ministries and departments.

Lukyanov Presents Awards at Kremlin Ceremony

LD1410222588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov today presented awards to a group of front-ranking production workers, scientists, and cultural figures in the Kremlin. [passage omitted] On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government, Comrade Lukyanov congratulated the award winners and wished them fresh successes in their work. [video shows Lukyanov presenting awards; Menteshashvili also present]

Deputy Finance Minister Discusses Tax Reform

LD1210233088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct (TASS)—"Tax reform may start in the USSR in the early nineties. The public should discuss the concept of it and then the draft as broadly as possible," Viktor Semenov, USSR deputy minister of finance, said in an interview published today by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

"The reform must even out the incomes of the population, though without lowering interest in the growth of earnings. I hope that we shall ultimately be able to transfer to a single scale of taxation regardless of the ways the income is received. I think that the proportion of indirect taxes must be reduced."

The deputy minister explained the reasons for raising the prices of foreign goods, which are often purchased by the state at considerably lower prices in comparison with retail prices in Soviet shops. He regards this difference as an indirect tax too. "Our prices differ considerably from world prices owing to distortions in the development of the economy," he said. "In the USSR, metals and tools are very cheap, while consumer goods, synthetic materials, and radio equipment are expensive."

Viktor Semenov said that at the moment direct taxes reduce the budget of a worker's family by 8.6 percent, and he loses out on another 60 percent plus due to indirect taxes which constitute the difference between wholesale and retail prices.

In Viktor Semenov's opinion each person in the USSR should start to fill in a declaration on his income himself. It is the business of the finance bodies to ensure that they are filled in correctly. But at the moment this is difficult. "Tax legislation has not been worked out and the evasion of payment of taxes is not even provided for by the criminal code," Semenov said. "This is only considered to be a crime in times of war. The shaping of a tax inspection system is only beginning."

Latvia's Gorbunov Interviewed on Career, Plans

PM1410190888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by our correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov under the rubric "Names and Events": "Elected by the Deputies"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet session that took place the other day elected Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. Our correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov asked him to answer some questions.

[Vostrukhov] Anatoliy Valeryanovich, please tell us about your career.

[Gorbunov] I was born in 1942 in Latvia's Ludzenskiy Rayon, I am a Latvian, I have been a party member since 1966, and I am a graduate of the Riga Polytechnical Institute and the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy. I was elected first secretary of Kirovskiy Latvian Communist Party Raykom and secretary of Riga Gorkom. Since 1984 I have been on the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, as section chief and Central Committee secretary. Since 1985 I have been a member of the Central Committee Bureau. I was a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference.

My parents and their forebears lived in eastern Latvia. Incidentally, you often find among the Latvians there names and surnames borrowed from our good neighbors,

the Russians. By the way, when I was elected Central Committee secretary a few years ago, some of the Western mass media reported: "Once again a Russian has been appointed to a responsible post in Latvia...." And once again they made fools of themselves. My parents and my parents' parents were peasants. The Latgalian peasant's lot was never enviable: poor land, work until you drop. My grandfather and father were smiths. In my childhood I dreamed of becoming a smith too, but my father said: "You must study, son. When I was young we did not have the opportunity, but you do...." After graduating from the construction technical school I worked as a foreman on a sovkhoz, then as a technologist and engineer at a design institute. After receiving my diploma from the construction faculty of the polytechnical institute, I intended to devote my life to rural construction work, but I was attracted to sociopolitical activity and became a party worker.

[Vostrukhov] Members of that profession have often been criticized, and still are, for a fondness for "paper" methods of leadership....

[Gorbunov] I understand you, say no more. I admit I am very fond of talking, debating with people, arguing, defending my viewpoint. The situation in our republic is complex now, some people have lost their heads—an extremely unusual situation has developed. But I like it: The bastions of stagnation are collapsing, glasnost and democratization are forging a path. The conditions of pluralism have proved to be a major test for many people. Many of us were bent double beneath the heavy burden of the old infallibility complex, and it turns out that it is not so very easy to straighten up. We are wondering: Has the monopoly of the truth in the last resort created to some extent a crisis of confidence in us on the part of the masses? Yes, economic distortions, violations of social justice, low rates of growth of labor productivity, the disproportion between those rates and the availability of manpower—all these things are still manifested today in one form or another, and the demagogues make very cunning use of that fact, speculating on difficulties and inflaming passions over ethnic relations.

In response, we must, with the masses' support, firmly uphold our principles for improving society and creating a rule-of-law state, the principles set forth in the 19th party conference resolutions. We hope that the implementation of the constructive program of the Popular Front that has just been set up in Latvia will give substantial support to the policy of restructuring.

[Vostrukhov] How did you begin your work in your new post?

[Gorbunov] By taking part in the Supreme Soviet session which examined very important questions of the republic's economic and social life. There was a heated debate at the session about the problems of developing Latvia's agriculture. Just one example: In recent decades industrial production has increased more than 50-fold, while agricultural production has increased by only 50 percent. We have decided to make this sector a priority in the economy.

[Vostrukhov] The Supreme Soviet also adopted a resolution on the status of the Latvian language. What was the reason for that?

[Gorbunov] There is nothing unusual about it. On the territory of Latvia, the Latvian language is the native language for the majority of the population. But in recent decades, for various reasons, the sphere of use of the Latvian language has declined considerably and its functions have been reduced. A special commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium worked on preparing the resolution. The opinion of the broad public was taken into account. Thus the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on acknowledging the Latvian language to be the state language on the republic's territory. I wish to emphasize particularly that the rights of citizens of other nationalities will not suffer.

[Vostrukhov] What do you regard as the most important thing in your present work?

[Gorbunov] To seek true people's power, effectiveness in the activity of the soviets, and the expansion of glasnost in their work. The recent Supreme Soviet session, for instance, was broadcast on republican radio from start to finish. In the future, Supreme Soviet sessions will be held absolutely openly. We will invite representatives of public organizations, including the Latvian Popular Front, to discuss all the items on the agenda at sessions of the soviets and of the standing commissions.

[Vostrukhov] I would like to know about your personal life, your family....

[Gorbunov] I am married. I owe a great deal to my wife, a person who is very kind and tolerant by nature. She works as an instructor at the "Sarma" home working combine, and before that she was a foreman at the VEF plant. My son is 18. At the moment he and I understand each other perfectly. He is very keen on skiing. He likes doing building jobs around the home. We do not have a state dacha: We spend our free time in the countryside, at my mother's. Even today there is plenty of work for skillful hands in a country home.

Zaporozhe Deputies Walk Out of Soviet Session

LD1510171588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Kiev, 15 Oct (TASS)—A report today on a session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium (parliament) of the republic, marking the end of a story which was hotly debated both in chiefs' offices and on the streets, was

published today in Ukrainian newspapers. An unprecedented incident occurred: The deputies of the city soviet in Zaporozhe, a city on the lower Dnepr, "voted with their feet" as a sign of protest and left the session.

What happened? The session of the town soviet—the elected organ of city government—was expected to discuss 10 questions in a single day, including reviewing the housing program for the period up to the year 2000; setting out ways of improving the ecological situation in this major industrial center of the country; and establishing a program for improving food supplies to the population. In a word, each of the questions deserved independent and detailed discussion.

The approach of the organizers of the session, and in particular of Vladimir Vasilyev, the mayor of Zaporozhe, angered the deputies. It was clear that they were being given the role of theater extras, whose only job was to rubber-stamp previously prepared decisions. Formerly that was how things were done. Now that people are taking an active part in democratic processes, it did not happen that way. When Vasilyev, who was chairing the session, began in addition to hurry the speakers up, over 150 deputies demonstratively left the hall. The remainder—and they numbered less than half the total number of deputies—were not empowered to make any decisions. The session had broken down.

Of course, this is not the best way of asserting democracy, but one can understand the deputies who saw an echo of the old times in the position of the leaders of the soviet.

The incident in Zaporozhe became a subject for discussion in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium. A just reproach was expressed to the deputies, but the main subjects of criticism were the leaders of the soviet.

It was said at the Presidium session that all the local organs of state power should draw their own conclusions from the Zaporozhe story. Deputies must have the opportunity to participate genuinely in the resolution of all questions—such was the political instruction of the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Party Conference.

Ukrainian Presidium on Supply of Consumer Goods

AU1310102588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Report on decision on the activity of Sumy Oblast soviets of people's deputies in coordinating work to fully provide the market with consumer goods: "In the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] As reported, at a recent session the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the activity of Sumy Oblast soviets of people's deputies in coordinating the work of industrial enterprises and trade organizations to fully provide the market with consumer goods.

The decision that was adopted notes that, in line with the requirements of the 27th party congress and the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums, Sumy Oblast soviets of people's deputies have made greater efforts to increase the production of consumer goods and to improve supplies of these to the population. Since the beginning of the current 5-year period, the rates envisaged by the comprehensive program for increasing the production of goods have been attained, and the value of goods manufactured in excess of the plan has reached R46.3 million.

At the same time, the oblast's soviets of people's deputies and their subordinate management organs are still slow in restructuring the style and methods of their work; inadequate and inconsistent in exercising the rights granted to them; unsystematic and sluggish in their work among labor collectives to make use of the reserves and potentials available to step up output, to improve the quality of goods, and to perfect the organization of trade in them.

As a result of this, the gap between the population's purchasing power and the available goods in the oblast is widening. Many necessities are out of stock, the choice of goods available in trade is inadequate, and there are lines in front of stores. The oblast is systematically falling short of the state orders for commodity turnover. [passage omitted]

Oblispolkoms and Kiev and Sevastopol Gorispolkoms have been instructed to step up their work in coordinating the activity of industrial enterprises and trade organizations to increase production, increase the choice, and improve the quality of goods, particularly of cheap commodities intended for children and young and elderly people; to tighten control over the distribution of foodstuffs; to ensure that the principle of social justice is observed in the organization of trade in foodstuffs, and to widely engage deputies, public representatives, and people's controllers in this field; and, in conformity with the requirements of radical economic reform and with the USSR laws on the state enterprise (association) and on cooperation in the USSR, to make full use of new management methods and advanced forms of labor organization and motivation.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has commissioned the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, Ministry of Trade, and Union of Consumer Societies to examine how to improve the system of distributing marketable stocks, particularly nonfood commodities, among oblasts, and to ensure that the plans for retail commodity turnover are better balanced. The Ukrainian SSR Ministries of the Light Industry and of Local Industry are expected to provide practical help to subordinate Sumy Oblast enterprises and organizations to improve their work and strengthen and develop the material base for the production of consumer goods.

Court To Try Three Azeris for Sumgait Murders

AU1710085788 Paris AFP in English 0833 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Test] Moscow, Oct 17 (AFP)—Three Azeris will go on trial at the Soviet Supreme Court here Tuesday charged with murdering Armenians and provoking "mass disorders" in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait last February, a court spokesman told AFP Monday.

Boris Semchukov, the court official responsible for organising the trial, said that the Muslim Azeris were accused of murdering "six or seven" Christian Armenians in the Sumgait riots from February 27-29.

On Sunday, Armenian activist Kuren Nagapetyan had said that a total eight Azeris would be tried in Moscow: five for murder and three others for vandalism.

Mr. Nagapetyan said that the case involved the killing of eight Armenians: a family of five, two brothers and another individual.

It is the first time the Supreme Court has examined cases arising from the Sumgait trial.

A total 19 cases have so far been investigated by a closed-door court in Sumgait. Soviet authorities, yielding to Armenian pressure, had agreed that the "more complicated" cases would be tried outside Azerbaijan by Russian Federation courts.

Thirty-two people, mostly Armenians, were killed in the Sumgait riots which were triggered by ethnic unrest over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenians are campaigning for the Azerbaijani enclave to be transferred to Armenia.

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

'Usual Pace of Work' Resumed

LD1410202988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] It has been reported to us from Yerevan that all the industrial enterprises and associations in the republic's capital have resumed their usual pace of work. So the situation there is stabilizing.

Women's Committee Cited

LD1510191888 Moscow TASS in English 2239 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 15 TASS—"The events taking place in Armenia and Azerbaijan agitate and sadden all women in the USSR," Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee Zoya Pukhova said at the committee's plenum that opened on Friday. "A great deal of problems in the area of inter-ethnic relations have accumulated. They require new approaches to their solution".

Zoya Pukhova noted that women's councils are called upon to play a considerable role in settling such problems.

The participants in the plenum addressed a call to women of Armenia and Azerbaijan to promote normalisation of the situation in the republics, to press for the eradication of manifestations of national enmity. They pointed to the impermissibility of attempts to drive a wedge between the two neighbouring peoples. "Together with you we grieved for the victims of fratricidal clashes in Sumgait, Stepanakert, Shusha. We shared the grief that came to your families." It is impossible to forcibly separate and isolate from each other the peoples whose roots have intertwined from times immemorial, says the document adopted.

It has been decided at the plenum to create a commission of members of the committee—representatives of all union republics to study the situation regarding Nagorno-Karabakh and sum up the experience accumulated during the solution of questions connected with interethnic relations. After a thorough study of problems the commission is expected to work out recommendations to women's councils as organisations reflecting the interests of all Soviet women, as to what a stand they should assume on the matter.

Commission Visits Workers

LD1510111988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Text] Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko has sent a report from Stepanakert, which I will read:

A group of deputies, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations from the Soviet of Nationalities, have today been continuing their work in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The members of the commission have met the aktiv of the town of Stepanakert, enterprise managers, the creative intelligentsia, and have visited Stepanakert Silk Combine.

The workers told the deputies about their problems, troubles, and aspirations. As a result of the unlawful and tragic events that have occurred since the start of the year in the autonomous oblast, a wall of fear and misunderstanding has arisen between representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijan nationalities. Mutual recriminations and accusations have subsided somewhat due to the introduction of a special situation and curfew in Nagorno-Karabakh and Agdam Rayon in Azerbaijan. People have begun to live more calmly. But unfortunately many still cannot or do not want to understand that the ordinary people—both Armenians and Azerbaijanis—are not to blame for what has occurred.

In spite of what has been happening, the two peoples are historically destined to live and work side by side, and tolerance and goodwill are needed to restore as soon as

possible normal good-neighborly relations. This is one of the important ways to resolve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, which depends on all the inhabitants of this mountainous region.

Arutyunyan Speech Reported

NC1610113288 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 0800 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Dear compatriots, we will now broadcast the speech that Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, made on Armenian television.

[Begin recording] Today I would like to speak to you frankly and in a principled way, and not in a [word indistinct] manner with you.

The situation in the republic was greatly exacerbated in September. The serious agitation of sentiments and the inflamed feelings reached a very dangerous stage, (?one step from) very regrettable incidents.

We are referring to the serious political (?situation) in the republic that stemmed from the incidents that took place on 18 September in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. This calls for a serious political warning. First of all, I cannot remain silent on the fact that the movement formed around the NKAO issue has exceeded its limits, and that winds are blowing from this movement toward objectives that are not in our ethnic interests. At the rallies, slanders continue to be heard from various sources, claiming that the republic's new leadership has retreated from its original stands on the solution of the NKAO problem and has turned its face away from the people and from the other [word indistinct] issues that are seriously disturbing all of us today. (?Showing indifference) to these will be tantamount to allowing specific groups to exploit the difficulties of the problem and undermine the (?seriousness) of the steps toward its solution. It would be tantamount to rendering ineffective the measures of the republic's party and vital bodies, exacerbating the tension, and in turn, plunging this issue into [word indistinct].

I believe that the issue should be openly discussed with the people, face to face, and that all our activities should be assessed so that we can learn from our mistakes and from the situation that has been created. You can consider this to be my party, moral, and vital idea. Slanderous rumors have been spread about an alleged break between the republic's leadership and the people. There is no such break, and there cannot be any such break. These are not serious allegations. We consider ourselves to be (?bound) by our people's feelings and by (?the concern over) the destiny of the Armenian population of the NKAO. We are persistently working toward a just solution of the NKAO problem. We made our position very clear at the 15 June session of the republic's Supreme Soviet and at the 19th all-union party conference. We also stated it at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and we (?repeated) it at the September plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. We are consolidating this stand with our daily activities. Our only wish is that a reasonable approach be taken to all this.

(?Let us) [word indistinct]. Many people thought that the decisions adopted on the NKAO would not be just. However, it has been shown that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision of 18 July created a new situation in the oblast by elevating its (?authority) and by widening its (?individualism) in the solution of the accumulated problems. It is of great importance that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appointed as their representative to the NKAO Comrade Volskiy, Central Committee administration chief. The oblast has been given the opportunity to solve problems through the representative of the central government, in whom great authority has been vested.

As you can see, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision took the first step toward an objective and just solution of a very difficult problem. We should actively use the new opportunities that have been created for the consolidation of ties between the NKAO and the Armenian SSR. Already thousands of proposals have been received on the consolidation of ties with the autonomous oblast. Dozens of workers collectives have expressed their readiness to start activities toward this end. Many of these are already carrying out concrete steps in the NKAO, and they have established strong economic, moral, and cultural ties.

In the first stage, active assistance is being shown in the establishment of electro-technical, radio-electronic, and light industries. Preliminary steps are being taken toward the oblast's [words indistinct] and in the agro-industrial fields. We should participate in setting up [word indistinct] factories, meat complexes, grape processing plants, and other establishments. The possibility of setting up a railway link between (?Vardenis) and Stepanakert is being studied. Places have been granted in the Armenian VUZ's for the proper education of students from Karabakh. Our vital organizations are carrying out (?close) cooperation with the intellectuals in Nagorno-Karabakh. The right conditions are being created for the Armenian SSR's residents to participate actively in extending all possible economic and cultural assistance to the NKAO.

The time has come to pass from (?rallies) and sentimental patriotism to practical acts. Our assistance is necessary to our compatriots in the NKAO. Their living standards should be raised and the oblast's socioeconomic and cultural development be achieved, not as a [word indistinct], but as a [word indistinct], essential grounds for the solution of the fundamental problem. Shortsighted maximalism is not beneficial as far as the attainment of our objectives is concerned.

Objective facts, comrades, show that the mutual ties between the NKAO and Armenia are currently being manifested by concrete acts. These are increasing more and more and becoming more and more immutable. But we will not (?hide) the fact that these ties are not being established (?easily). In the process they are encountering (?serious) obstacles and [words indistinct]. Let no one think that the decisions by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers and other important documents are being easily (?implemented). (?On the contrary), those who do not favor these decisions at all are trying, without any consideration, to render all our concrete steps ineffective.

You know that a number of delegates, including myself, proposed in speeches to the 19th all-union conference that the necessary reforms be made in the USSR Constitution. This was also expressed at the party conference. Currently, proposals are being studied on changing and improving a number of articles in the Constitution. It is to be hoped that these will create the favorable conditions for the objective solution of accumulated problems in interethnic relations. The wide (?strata) of our republic's workers (?consider) that the way to our emergence from the situation that has been created lies in a political solution of the NKAO problem. Our approach on this issue lacks neither (?sagacity) nor conviction, and this approach does not differ in any way from our people's stand.

In this connection, I would like to refer to the issue of convening an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. A number of deputies have proposed this to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. This has become a key issue, not only in the rallies, but also in the workers' collectives, in organizations, and in establishments, where it is being widely discussed. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee receives letters and cables about it. Of course, the issue of convening or not convening a session is decided on by the deputies and by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. However, I would like to express my view. It is [word indistinct] proposed that the session take place at the time already decided on by our republic's Supreme Soviet session on 15 June. The question asked is: Is this not an (?anachronistic) step today when the situation has drastically changed and when a serious approach is called for toward a political solution of the problem? Thus, we propose that we not be affected by momentary (?sentiments) and [word indistinct], but by comprehensively based and [word indistinct] conceptions. In relation to these, I would like to point out that not everyone has correctly understood the meaning of our Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision of 23 September, which concerns the normalization of the situation that has been created in the republic as a result of the recent incidents in the NKAO.

Let us recall that it has been deemed suitable to study, during the upcoming session of the supreme soviet, the steps taken by the republic's party, soviet, and economic bodies toward the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Communist Party, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers. We have applied to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium requesting that measures be taken to accelerate the implementation of the well-known 18 July decision and to study, during the Presidium's session, the steps taken. We have also approached the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Interethnic Relations requesting that the preliminary measures concerning the NKAO issue be stepped up in order that they may be studied by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Presidium's decisions have given rise to the issue of possible measures for genuine guarantees for the security of the Armenian population living in the Azerbaijan SSR. As is known, the Presidium has taken this issue both to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium.

You know that the interethnic commission of deputies which is headed by Comrade Voss has studied the NKAO problem on the spot. This is a (?very important) commission which includes renowned personalities of the country, as well as deputies from our republic and from the USSR Supreme Soviet. Comrade Kravtsov, acting chairman of the commission and USSR minister of justice, as well as Comrade Luchinskiy, member of the commission and second secretary of the Tajik SSR Communist Party Central Committee, came to Yerevan. They inspected workers collectives. They talked to people and they became acquainted with the situation that has been created and that is a cause of serious concern to all the [word indistinct] residents of the republic. When they are ready, the commission's proposals will be given to the Supreme Soviet Presidium for study. I think that this is (?the primary) step.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government believe that (?all) interethnic problems should be examined seriously in a calm atmosphere. All the steps that have been undertaken for their solution should be taken into account. [end recording]

Suren Arutyunyan then added:

[Begin recording] One may sometimes conclude from (?remarks) by activists at the rallies that they seem to be conscious of the dangers emanating from unrestrained feelings and acts; but in reality they do not adopt a cautious stand. On the contrary, they continue to distance themselves by not complying with the rules of the state. How can the people's national dignity be so irresponsibly trampled on? How can it [words indistinct] the characteristics that have given the working people and the (?active) people such authority?

Let us stop the strikes. They produced neither political not effective results, nor could they have done so. What did they lead to? In July the republic's production was down by R73 million. Construction activities worth R20 million were not carried out. Tens of thousands of people

were deprived of their work and were plunged into a difficult situation. In September goods to the value of more than R35 million were (?not produced). Administrations faced unfavorable situations. The republic has become an (?impediment) in the country's popular-economic chain. It has lost its [words indistinct]. Some (?200) families in Yerevan city alone were deprived of the possibility of receiving housing in September. (?In short), a foreign enemy could not have inflicted such serious damage on Armenia as we inflicted on ourselves, with our (?pseudo-patriotic and sinister) calls.

However, the issue that we place before us is the creation of a fundamental turning point in the republic's economic development and the comprehensive preparation for the republic's self-financing. That calls for the immediate stabilization of the situation, for the solidarity of all forces, and for the [word indistinct] of the activities of all the (?bodies) to the benefit of our [word indistinct] potentials.

The issue is not only that the republic's economy has been greatly harmed. The moral damage is more palpable. Appeals are heard at the rallies, apparently concerned with the people's moral benefit. However, there are those who are doing everything to make the people suffer. Apparently (?they) are appealing for a betterment of the people's unity, but they are in fact pushing toward anarchy and negativism. How will all this be reflected tomorrow, especially in the hearts of the young people?

(?I am) extremely concerned about and deeply regret the fact that some are clearly exploiting our students' pure patriotic feelings, and I appeal to the reason and conscience of our young boys and girls. Do your (?strikes) and other unwise acts not harm all our activities? It is possible that there are those who are (?now rubbing their hands with satisfaction). But the large part of our population—and recently I have met many people and am well aware of all their feelings—wisely understand that (?these elements) are not to our benefit.

During these meetings they constantly ask me why we are not acting decisively in the critical situation. As I told them, and as I tell you now frankly: The republic's leadership is not displaying indecisiveness at all. Yes, we support law and order. But we attach great importance to (?political methods), by warning the people to avoid the dangerous path and to [word indistinct]. We do not want to threaten the future of those young people of ours who have not yet fully understood the implicatiaons of their acts and their anti-state and anti-moral steps. However, they should realize that playing with the people's destiny is a dangerous political activity.

Our strength is (?aimed) at active truthfulness. In the Central Committee we are generally working toward the benefit of the (?so-called) mutual relations [word indistinct]. We stated this at the September plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. However, I would like to repeat what was said at the plenum. We extend our hand to each person who, in heart and mind, is concerned with the people's fate, to exert (?inexhaustible) efforts toward [words indistinct]. Great and significant duties lie before us. We cannot fulfill these if our forces (?are not united). We will achieve a great deal through the unity of the republic's Communists and of all the people. [end recording]

Armenian Central Committee Meeting Reported

NC1710090888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Press reports state that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau held a meeting during which it studied the visit to Nagorno-Karabakh by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and his meeting with Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The bureau also discussed ways to implement proposals by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum which met in September 1988. It was decided that the Central Committee Politburo, party gorkoms, raykoms, and the media will receive these proposals for criticism and study. It was also decided that proposals relating to the competent state bodies will be handed to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers for discussion and that the [words indistinct] and the republic's People's Control Committee also study these proposals and monitor their implementation.

The bureau session also discussed various problems in the republic's social, economic, and cultural fields.

Yerevan Gorkom Plenum Discusses Conference

NC1610082688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 16 Oct 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Yerevan Gorkom Plenum was held on (?13) October. The plenum discussed the convening of the 40th organizational conference of the Armenian Communist Party Yerevan Gorkom as well as reports on [words indistinct] meetings in the city's party organizations. It was decided that the 40th organizational conference of the Armenian Communist Party Yerevan Gorkom will be held on (?30 November) this year. The plenum reviewed ways of ensuring that the conference is held normally. The agenda of the conference was also discussed.

Head of Armenian Culture Department Replaced

NC1510103788 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Oct (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian SSR Culture Department has held its plenum. The department accepted Arevsahtyan's request that he be relieved of his duties as chief of the Culture Department. The department thanked him for his services.

The department appointed author Vardges Petrosyan as chief of the department.

Talinskiy First Secretary Removed From Office
NC1510112288 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 15 Oct 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee [word indistinct] meeting on 13 October studied the political and moral-psychological atmosphere of the Talinskiy region party organization. The harsh (?violation) of party principles during the election of cadres, the substantial weakening of the workers' moral-ideological training, the inefficient leadership in the party-political reconstruction activities, and the serious faults committed in the fields of soviet-economic development have produced an unhealthy moral-psychological atmosphere. Therefore, Manukyan, first secretary of the Talinskiy party, (?was declared) [words indistinct] and his continuation in office as first secretary was considered unfavorable.

Replacement Named
NC1510112388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 15 Oct 88

[From the SOVETAKAN AYASTAN press review]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Talinskiy Region Plenum met and discussed organizational matters. The plenum relieved Manukyan, first secretary of the region's party, of his duties because of faults committed in activities. A secret ballot was cast and Oganesyan was elected as first secretary of the Talinskiy region party.

The newspaper carries an ARMENPRES report on this.

New Leader in Uzbekistan's Syrdarya Obkom
PM1410144788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Dzhizak, 13 Oct—A Syrdarya Uzbek Communist Party Obkom plenum was held here today to deal with organizational questions.

A.F. Klepikov was elected first secretary of Syrdarya party obkom.

R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party, spoke at the plenum.

Andreyeva Counters Criticism in Open Letter
PM1310110288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, 2 Oct 88 p 2

[Letter by Nina Andreyeva in the "Letters to the Editor" column: "Nina Andreyeva One More Time"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] We recently received another letter from Nina Andreyeva: In response to film director Arkadiy Dinkevich's letter ("MN" No. 36) to her original letter ("MN" No. 33). Abiding by the 19th party conference "On Glasnost" resolution, according to which any citizen who has been criticized in a publication has the right to rebut the charges in the same publication, here is Andreyeva's letter. We note with regret that in it she dwells on minor points while ignoring the essence of the charges against her (in "MN" and other publications): that she is categorically opposed to the changes taking place in our country, to taking an honest and candid look at our past, to the desire to put an end to the lies and cruelty which abounded in the past, that she actually defends Stalinism. Judging by the letters we've received, by meetings with readers and sociological polls, few people are in accord with Andreyeva—her stand is not a popular one, though she thinks differently. But even if it is a minority opinion with which "MN" disagrees, it deserves attention.

Open Letter to "MOSCOW NEWS" [subhead]

Dear editor,

I sincerely thank you for publishing in full my letter to M.A. Ulyanov (MN No. 33), the original of which was delivered personally to him 10 days before it was sent to the press. I also thank you for taking up this matter again with A. Dinkevich's "Adherence to principle" (MN No. 36), a fuller version of which appeared in Leningrad's SMENA, under the title "Something about glory and popularity".

In my letter "I can't give up my principle" (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, March 13, 1988) I did mentin the film "Time of Hope", co-directed by A. Dinkevich. I even dared to note that "in this good documentary about S.M. Kirov the narrative in some places not only disagreed with the film clips but also created some ambiguity. For example, a sequence showing the enthusiasm, cheerfulness and spiritual elevation of people building socialism is accompanied by a text about repressions and people being ill-informed." My appraisal has the support of more than 3,000 people who wrote to me to say they agreed.

The respected Arkadiy Abramovich—whose surname I didn't mention in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA—has, of course, every right to call himself a successor of Dan, Yagoda or Trotskiy, to call himself names. But all this has nothing to do with me or my modest criticism of the film.

I only regret that Comrade Dinkevich avoided replying specifically to my criticism of the film as an "artistic documentary" in favour of disseminating misinformation about me. It is flattering that a prominent film director would choose to become a chronicler of my rather difficult life. But it's a pity that his supporters, in looking for compromising facts, didn't inform my respected biographer of other intriguing aspects. Perhaps he doesn't know about earlier attempts to exlcude me from the party, described in detail in the article "One step aside" (LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, August 1, 1970).

The picture would be more complete and more instructive if Dinkevich hadn't confined himself to a cursory mention of the regional CPSU committee's refusal to approve the previous decisions on my personal case, but also said that the regional committee confirmed a gross violation of state and party discipline, established earlier by the former leaders of the Rector's Office and the institute's party committee to which I wrote under my own name and assumed names. The facts which I exposed then would qualify today as acts of corruption. Regrettably, Arkadiy Abramovich also didn't pay enough attention to the March 1981 resolution of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee which exonerated me of all the accusations and made "the wheel turn in the opposite direction" by calling my persecutors to account.

I can well understand the sacred indignation of my respected popularizer when he saw my name on posters at a Pamyat society meeting. My name has also appeared on the posters of other unofficial organizations. My photographs have recently been used in dubious triptychs, popularized by the newspaper SMENA, and on Leningrad TV. But I have nothing to do with this amateur art, anymore than do some leading political figures whose portraits also appear at the meetings of unofficial organizations.

A. Dinkevich maintains that Andreyeva "continues her dark work" by sending a letter to the party conference, although he hasn't read this letter since it was never published. I sent that letter to papers asking that it be published and for three months heard nothing. How can I now convince those curious MN readers that my respected critic is objective and generous?

Still, I am deeply grateful to Arkadiy Abramovich: Thanks to his "series" of published investigations, the myths regarding the actual existence of "Nina Andreyeva" have been dispelled. They have been zealously spread for months by many popular journalists. This was done with such persistence that I began to doubt my own existence.

In conclusion, at Arkadiy Dinkevich's request, I want him to know that his articles in SMENA and MOSCOW NEWS are well known to the physical-chemistry department of the Leningrad Technological Institute where I have worked for more than 15 years. My colleagues even presented me with these issues as a souvenir since I don't usually buy them. This year the staff, after broad democratic discussion, promoted me and the learned council confirmed my promotion by vote.

Nina Andreyeva

Respectfully yours, Leningrad, Septemebr 8, 1988

'Pre-Restructuring' Leader Appointment Protested

PM1310093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[S. Ukoyev, I. Yakhtenfeld, A. A. Svyazhenin, Yu. Ilin et al "Letter To PRAVDA": "Get Rid of the 'Nomenklatura'"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude—Our Buryat experimental land reclamation station, which comes under the Siberian Scientific Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering and Land Reclamation, bears some responsibility for the fact that the output of reclaimed land in the republic remains very low. It must be admitted that clients are by no means entirely satisfied with the quality of our scientific work—indeed, the introduction of it into practice leaves much to be desired. What is the cause of this? We are the cause, of course. But so are our leaders.

All these years the station has been headed by former senior bosses: One was a former party raykom first secretary, a man of pensionable age; another was a former first secretary who quit that post because of ill health; then there is a former Buryat ASSR minister of land reclamation and water resources, transferred here 18 months ago at pensionable age.

The former leaders, not being versed in land reclamation science, failed to grasp the land reclamation situation and did not recognize the prospects facing sector science, although they were good at "sorting" cadres and allocating offices in our laboratory block.

Consequently a collective with stable scientific cadres was simply not created at the station, to this day there is not a single experimental section, and questions of material and technical support for scientific research were not solved; station staff have been waiting over 10 years for housing—hence the high staff turnover.

We reckoned that our problems would only be solved with competent leadership. Therefore a decision was made at the station staff general trade union assembly to hold an election for station director, in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise. We were also aware that the post of station director had been vacant since March 1987.

On 18 July 1988 the republican paper PRAVDA BURYATII announced a competition to fill the vacant post of station director. A competition commission was set up to receive applications. We told the head institute—that is,

the Siberian Scientific Research Institute of Hydraulic Engineering and Land Reclamation, the Buryat ASSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Union Gorkom—about the planned election and, finally, we informed the Buryat CPSU Obkom.

Not long ago we learned that a telegram had come from the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, signed by Deputy Minister Comrade Mikheyev, appointing as station director A. Smolin, formerly chief of the "Buryatvodstroy" Construction Administration, who had not acquired that post on a competitive basis either. The obkom rubber-stamped it.

This is obviously the old, pre-restructuring "carousel," where the former leader moves from post to post with the blessing of superior organizations. Who will answer the following questions for us: Why is the Law on the State Enterprise binding for some, but not for others? How long will the ministry go on solving the problems of our small collective (around 40 people) for us? Why doesn't A. Smolin participate in elections with everyone else if he wants to be leader? And, finally, all previous station directors have been transferred to us with their official vehicles and with their own chauffeurs. Comrades Smolin's primary concern, with the permission of the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, was to get his official "Volga" "transferred" with him.

But this is October 1988....

Activism, Electioneering in Tatar SSR Viewed

PM1410151188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 2

[S. Besschetnova article under the rubric "We're Learning Democracy": "Second Attempt"]

[Text] No one could have predicted the result of these elections, neither those who organized them nor those who took part. That is why a second attempt is needed.

It seemed only quite recently that the party conference had come out in favor of contested elections to soviets, and the draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies had not yet been published for nationwide discussion. Yet in Kazan City's Vakhitovskiy No 10 Electoral Okrug two candidates for the vacant post of deputy to the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet had already been officially registered, namely B. Leushin, first secretary of the Vakhitovskiy party raykom, and Yu. Kotov, head of Kazan State University's Environmental Protection Department, who was nominated by the public and the university labor collective. An unprecedented event, if only because this was virtually the first time that my fellow journalists did not have to rack their brains about what to write about the election campaign before and after the vote. And we did not have the customary "unanimous," "nem con," absolute, 100-percent approval this time.

Aware of the competition, the candidates met with voters virtually every day, expounding their program and answering questions. Have you ever heard, for example, of radio debates between candidates on republic radio? There was an exchange of very harsh insults between the candidates, and no one thought of of toning it down....

B. Leushin promised to put the main emphasis in his work as deputy on meeting the needs of the okrug inhabitants, while Yu. Kotov, a member of a UNESCO working party, stressed global environmental problems. Whom to vote for? Each voter decided this for himself.

But things were not restricted to meetings with voters. Supporters of Leushin and Kotov called at homes in the okrug. Incidentally, students from the physics faculty, joined by biology students and led by Associate Professor S. Gavrilov of the physics faculty, did a great deal to register Kotov as their candidate. Leushin's supporters rang the bells of voters' apartments in the evenings. Members of the Kazan Popular Front initiative center and lads from the environmental club organized pickets in support of Kotov, carried placards, and devised caricatures.

The pamphlets with "Please vote for Leushin!" on them in the large writing of a child that many voters found in their mail boxes caused surprise. True, a raykom party worker explained to me that as soon as this "agitation" was reported apparatus workers rushed to the schools to put a stop to the activities of teachers who had clearly overstepped the mark. At the same time the agitators from the university who spoke to voters on Kotov's behalf were unobjective, according to her....

Election day showed that it is not only the public that has to draw conclusions from this first experiment. I observed, for example, how conflict was sparked off between police and students from the physics faculty, who tried to monitor the electoral procedure. As a result one activist was taken to the station house following an altercation with police. I think that you have to work with people and convince them in a different way today. But, fortunately, such incidents were the exception rather than the rule.

And another surprise. It has to be admitted that many voters came along as usual to vote on their own behalf and that of a "pal," bringing with them the passports of relatives and friends and neighbors.... And it was perhaps only after the commission refused to issue them with several voting cards that some of them began to think about what real democratic elections, free will, and the meaning of everyone's vote are. And no doubt it was these old habits, ingrained passivity of mind, and the mentality of the little man which were ultimately the reason why around 40 percent of the electorate did not turn up to vote, despite the noisy campaign—as a result of which neither candidate was elected, because the law

requires more than 50 percent of the votes (42.81 percent of all voters on the okrug's electoral roll voted for Yu. Kotov and 14.08 percent for B. Leushin).

"You know," confessed Dmitriy Toporov, a member of the Popular Front in support of a restructuring initiative group, "before 1986 I never took part in anything. I personally took part in the elections to learn—after all, as a picket, you had to argue, persuade, prove.... Thus it transpired that after 27 years of silence I suddenly began to talk."

And how are the election results viewed in the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium?

"As a good rehearsal," said Presidium Secretary D. Davletshina. "It will be easier for us in the future than for others. We have been receiving many suggestions of late as to how the election campaign should have been run, and we ourselves have come to understand a lot about the standards and the ethics of the election contest, about the work of agitators, about what real democracy is.... I have had frequent meetings with people from the initiative groups. We have had long discussions and have reached what I believe is a full understanding. And despite the absence of such experience in the country, we held the elections in the strictest accordance with the law...."

But the point is that the experiment did graphically point up the imperfection of the very "Law on Elections to the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet." At a news conference recently held at Kazan University on the results of the elections, discussion of the still-unpublished draft new law began essentially spontaneously. Kazan State University students and lecturers and workers from various city enterprises and organizations detected several ambiguities in Article 53 of the existing law. In one place it is said that elections are deemed null and void if under half the voters take part, while in another it is said that "a candidate who receives more than half the votes at the election...is deemed elected." So you can have a situation where exactly half the voters vote: The election is valid, but the candidate is not elected?! And why more than half? With such a proportion elections with unrestricted nomination of candidates run the risk of simply going on for ever!

Or take the following riddle: In one place the same Article 53 speaks about voters "on the electoral roll," while elsewhere it talks simply about the votes of "all the okrug's voters." Who, then, in this case is the voter—the citizen who has this right or the person who actually votes?!

I would stress that all these and many other obscurities and contradictions in existing electoral practice have been detected not by specialists but by young people fed up with voting...but not electing anyone.

And the fact that discussion of the future law is essentially already under way in Kazan is, it seems to me, a sign of the times.

...The Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet decree on the rerun of the election in Electoral Okrug No 10, which is to be held 30 October, was issued 9 October.

But meanwhile the Tatar ASSR State Museum has asked the guys from the Popular Front who acted as pickets to hand in their banners....

Kazan Youth 'Street Fighting' Discussed

PM1410142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

["Own Correspondent's Column" by Nikolay Morozov: "At the Mercy of the Street"]

[Text] Kazan—Two processions, which I happened to see in the Kazan streets in the space of a few days, passed right in front of me.

First, teenagers went past. There were more than 100 of them. Shaved heads, in blue work clothes, they were accompanied by mounted militia. The "headbangers" ["motalshchiki"]—members of one grouping—had been on their way to settle accounts with another, similar to itself. The militia did not direct their route, it simply kept them in sight until the teenagers had gone home. There were no clashes in the street along which the procession was moving. But in another corner of Kazan, boys clashed, and the bloodstained body of a 15-year old youth was left lying on the asphalt....

After this clash a second procession went by—a funeral procession. It was not just the dead youth's mother, wearing a black scarf, who followed the coffin. Many, very many mothers went out onto the streets to express their grief and their protest against the senseless death.

Youth crime and confrontation between groupings formed according to where they live (street, block, neighborhood) have developed into one of Kazan's complex problems. Most of these informal organizations are vocational and technical school students. This year they have committed more than 400 crimes. The "headbangers" behaved particularly audcaiously in the spring: At that time five youths from Kazan died in street fighting....

Of course, the local authorities are not standing idle in this situation. A special subdivision for combating organized crime has been set up, the militia is exposing the leaders of the aggressive pack, and open trials are being held in the city. In the evenings the voluntary people's militia patrols the residential developments. About 50 youth clubs in Kazan have been placed completely in the charge of the youth action center.

The evil is being attacked along a broad front. But the results of the struggle against youth crime are no cause for rejoicing: The number of serious crimes is not dropping, but, on the contrary, is growing. Why is the tension in the streets not abating?

The people of Kazan reproach the militia and accuse it of sluggishness, and this is largely justified. The custodians of law and order sensed the danger of the youths' violent pastimes too late and did not investigate the social canker thoroughly. The low rate of crime detection is detrimental to the work, and moreover most of the ringleaders remain in the shadows. Yet their milieu's obvious contact with criminals can be seen.

But it would not be quite correct to appeal only to the militia, and to reproach families and schools for gaps in education in this complex, nonstandard situation. The problem is more complex and has many aspects. It also includes Komsomol organizations' peculiar inertia. They are not prepared to risk finding themselves in a critical situation, and so they do not engage in dialogue with such groupings at "peak hour," concerning themselves mainly with "analyzing and studying the problem."

Well-organized leisure can get the teenagers off the streets. Alas there is not room for everybody in creative circles and sports sections. For example, out of the 8,000 young people in Kazan's Privolzhskiy Rayon only 300-400 can find something to do in the youth clubs, and in the "Planeta" motorcycle club there are 6 enthusiasts per motorcycle. The group members huddle together in damp basements in squalid conditions.

Adults' indifference and a formal-bureaucratic approach to young people's problems more than anything else pushes the lads to the darkness of the passageway. So, more than 100 young people from Sovetskiy Rayon decided to break with aimless wandering and with their own hands tidied up a house cellar for sports activities. But, when they did the rounds of adults' offices, they became convinced that no one would have anything to do with them. The place which had been prepared has been without equipment for 1 and ½ years.

Or this example. One of the militia workers organized a sports section at an enterprise, but his leaders reproached him for not minding his own business.

At a recent discussion organized by the Tatar CPSU Obkom, ways to improve the situation were discussed. Will the teenagers hear the alarm and pain voiced in the hall? Obviously they will hear if the older people will look each one of them in the face. If they stop looking at the lads passing in the street accompanied by mounted militia with indifferent eyes.

The lads walk in silence, but in their minds they are really crying out for help.

Supreme Court Plenum Examines Forestry Crimes

PM1210151188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In the USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] A regular plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has been held, with V.I. Terebilov in the chair.

Following a report by USSR Supreme Court member P.Ya. Trubnikov, the plenum examined the question of the courts' adherence to legislation when hearing civil cases on compensation for damage caused by breaches of forestry regulations.

The report and the speeches by participants in the plenum noted that the fundamental improvement of the state of affairs in forestry and the implementation of decisive measures to preserve and augment the forestry wealth in our country, with more than one-third of its territory being covered by forests, constitute an important condition for the successful implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions. The adoption of such measures is especially necessary in view of the fact that the number of breaches of forestry regulations committed by citizens and organizations alike is rising year by year.

The plenum adopted a resolution which notes that substantial shortcomings and mistakes occur in judicial practices when hearing cases in this category.

The plenum explained that:

On discovering elements of a crime in the actions of someone who has breached forestry regulations, the court must either notify the prosecutor or itself issue an order instituting criminal proceedings;

Any damage caused by breaches of forestry regulations must be fully compensated regardless of any criminal or administrative proceedings being instituted against those in breach of forestry regulations;

Any illegally acquired timber or other forestry produce is liable to confiscation and assignment either to the relevant enterprise, institution, or organization running the forestry operations or to the timber consumer (a kolkhoz, for example), whose rights have been infringed. In the event that the physical confiscation of timber from the culprit is impossible, the value of any such timber is recoverable at the rate applicable when licenses for felling standing trees are issued, in addition to any sum in compensation for damage caused by the breach of forestry regulations;

In the event of a forest being destroyed or damaged as a consequence of arson or negligent use of fire, the damage compensation sum should also cover all expenses incurred on extinguishing the fire and the cost of any buildings, installations, and other property located in the forest and destroyed or damaged as a result of the fire.

The liability established for breaches of forestry regulations in forests of state importance also extends to breaches of forestry regulations committed in kolkhoz forests. Any compensation for damage to kolkhoz forests caused by breaches of forestry regulations by enterprises, institutions, organizations, or citizens is paid into kolkhoz revenues rather than into the state budget.

The union and autonomous republic supreme courts, kray and oblast courts, and autonomous oblast and okrug courts were instructed to systematically generalize judicial practices in such cases and to use this generalized material to ensure the correct and uniform application of forestry legislation by the courts.

Following reports by USSR Supreme Court members S.F. Savkin and V.S. Vodovozov, there was discussion on the courts' practice of issuing interim orders when hearing criminal and civil cases. By issuing such orders, the courts contribute to the prevention of breaches of the law, the elimination of shortcomings in the work of state, public, and cooperative enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and the cultivation of citizens' sense of lofty responsibility for the observance of Soviet laws and the rules of socialist communal life.

It was noted that by issuing interim orders in almost one in every five criminal cases and in many civil cases, the courts do not exercise this important right of theirs always correctly and—and this is the main point—do not exercise it with sufficient effectiveness. There are frequent instances when courts fail to respond to the nonperformance of interim orders.

The plenum emphasized that, in the atmosphere of fundamental restructuring of the economic, social, and legal life in the state, the courts must give special attention to the adoption of measures to eliminate:

Instances of bureaucratism, nepotism, departmentalism, and parochialism, shortcomings in the organization of monitoring the inventory, safekeeping, and distribution of material assets, and other breaches of state, financial, and production discipline engendering economic mismanagement and encouraging embezzlement of socialist property, bribery, and other crimes resulting from abuse of office;

Breaches of legislation aimed at combating drunkenness, alcoholism, and drug addiction which involve encroachments on the life, health, and dignity of citizens, hooliganism, the commission of other social crimes, and the involvement of adolescents in drunkenness and other antisocial activity;

Instances conditioning the commission of repeat crimes, especially when due to the failure of local ispolkoms and leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations to implement the demands of the Law on the Employment and Housing of Persons Having Served Terms of Punishment, to monitor their behavior, or to conduct educational work with them.

With a view to enhancing the role of legal means in implementing the radical reform of economic management, instructions were issued that when civil cases are heard there should be a sharp response to the disclosure of breaches of labor discipline, nonperformance of contract obligations, or nonobservance of the rights of labor collectives, cooperative enterprises, and organizations granted by the USSR Laws On the State Enterprise (Association), On the Cooperative Movement in the USSR, and other legislative acts.

In order to prevent any harmful consequences from breaches of regulations for the safekeeping, distribution, and utilization of socialist property, nonobservance of safety rules in production work, and other breaches of the law, the court must in all such instances raise with the competent state organs, public organizations, or officials the question of repealing any orders or other departmental instructions contrary to the law.

The plenum especially emphasized the need for a consistent response, by issuing interim orders, to instances of the law being broken in the course of inquiries and preliminary investigations.

The courts were instructed to make broader use of the right vested in them by law to notify the relevant enterprises, institutions, and organizations of instances when citizens have displayed high conscientiousness and bravery in the performance of their social duty to prevent criminal encroachments on the life, health, and dignity of citizens and on socialist and personal property, and also in the prevention and detection of other crimes.

Following the adoption of the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" and some other normative acts regulating economic relations between kolkhozes and other agro-industrial complex enterprises, organizations, and associations, the plenum made amendments to a number of resolutions adopted by it in the past.

The plenum also examined case appeals by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR general prosecutor, including appeals concerning cases heard in the thirties and forties.

Taking part in the plenum's work were USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev and USSR Deputy Minister of Justice V.T. Gubarev.

PRAVDA Praises Bukharin's Career

PM1210160088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Zhuravlev and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Naumov: "Back To the Truth. History Through People's Fate: On the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin"]

[Text] Bukharin's political career cannot be conveyed in any single—or to be more precise—unequivocal phrase. It comprised years of the revolutionary struggle, in which he became involved during his student days, at the abrupt turning points of the first Russian revolution. There was also his joint, uncommonly fruitful work with Lenin, his years of friendship with the latter, and, at the same time, the impassioned disputes and heated debates. The joy of

the 1917 October victory and the tearful grief for his comrades-in-arms who perished in the fighting for the power of the soviets in Moscow, where Bukharin was one of the leaders of the armed uprising. The difficult, intense search for unexplored ways of building socialism, the theoretical insights and the bitter errors and mistakes that are inevitable in this pioneering field. There was also the cruel tragedy which not only cut short his brilliant life but for many years also cast the shadow of prejudice and slander over his name, his work, his ideas, and his views.

Today, at the time of the revolutionary restructuring and renewal of Soviet society, at a time when the historical truth is being restored and the present and the future are being contemplated, Bukharin's name and his theoretical and political activity are once again becoming the subject of public attention and need to be scientifically studied and stripped of the corrosive influence of stereotypes and labels of expediency.

It is particularly evident now that Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin is one of the most outstanding figures in the history of our party. Renowned are the words of V.I. Lenin, who described Bukharin as the party's most valuable and greatest theoretician and pointed out that he is rightfully considered the favorite of the party (Complete Collected Works, Vol 45, p 345). During Vladimir Ilich's lifetime Bukharin was elected candidate member of the party Central Committee Politburo and in 1924, after the 13th congress, he became a full Politburo member and remained so until 1929. He was one of the leaders of the Comintern, he headed the party's ideological work, and he was a senior editor of PRAVDA from December 1917 through 1929.

In the second half of the thirties he shared the grievous, tragic fate of many representatives of the Lenin guard who fell victim to the lawlessness and Stalin's repressions. Today it is hardly necessary to prove that the annihilation of the party's old guard—which personified the intellect, conscience, and honor of Lenin's party, and one of whose most prominent representatives was N.I. Bukharin—was Stalin's most heinous crime, and that this cleared the way for the establishment of the personality cult and a regime of authoritarian power. Moreover it most definitely must be said that Bukharin was one of those who boldly opposed Stalin's aspirations and who at risk to himself tried to defend the Leninist principles of socialist building and the Leninist norms of party life.

N.I. Bukharin was born 9 October 1888 in Moscow into a family of democratic teachers, typical representatives of the Russian intelligentsia. The family's situation was a difficult one, and at times they experienced great hardship. Bukharin was raised from an early age on the works of Russian revolutionary democrats. In high school he became acquainted with Marxist literature.

The events of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 had a tremendous influence on him. It was then (in 1906) that he linked his destiny with the Bolshevik Party, joined its Moscow committee, and honed his propagandist skill in worker circles. He was arrested and exiled while in his final year as a student at Moscow University. In 1911 he escaped abroad from exile. As an emigre Bukharin resolutely and unreservedly adopted the Bolsheviks' position. His development as a revolutionary and as a Bolshevik-Leninist continued here.

His first meeting with Lenin in 1912 was the start of the friendly relations between them and predetermined Bukharin's entire future political and creative path.

At that time Lenin already greatly appreciated the young revolutionary's exceptional abilities, kept abreast of his political economy studies, and noted his first successes in this field.

In many respects Lenin's influence determined Bukharin's main areas of interest in mastering Marxist theory and his maturation as a revolutionary Marxist. One cannot fail to note the concern with which Lenin treated his pupil. Even at times of the most acute polemics between them—and there were many—Vladimir Ilich examined attentively the contentious theses put forward by Bukharin in an endeavor to help him take up correct positions. Lenin's influence also had an impact on Bukharin's scientific interests. In Lenin's opinion, he became a superlative Marxist economist (Vol 36, p 305).

Bukharin made a major contribution to the elaboration of topical problems of Marxist political economy. His work "The World Economy and Imperialism," first published as a large article in 1915 and then as a book in 1918, was rated highly by V.I. Lenin. Vladimir Ilich wrote the preface to its individual publication, where he noted that the "scientific significance of N.I. Bukharin's work consists particularly in the fact that he examines the main elements of the world economy concerning imperialism as a whole and as a definite stage in the development of the most highly developed capitalism" (Vol 27, p 94). In this work Bukharin developed his original theoretical interpretation of imperialism as a contradictory complex of world economic trends. He especially singled out two of these trends: on the one hand the process of internationalizing economic life, which above all takes the form of the development of international monopolies and the export of capital; and on the other the process of the "national" bonding of the imperialist powers' financial capital, which leads to contradictions and conflicts between state monopoly complexes. This formula is still significant for understanding contemporary capitalism when—as was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress—a "new knot of contradictions—between multinational corporations and the national state form of the political organization of society—has emerged and is rapidly tightening."

The themes of Bukharin's works illustrate the diversity of his theoretical interests. However, it would be incorrect to fail to mention the fact that a number of the theses and conclusions in his work of this period—for instance, on the

nationalities question and on the problems of the state—were marked by "ultraleftism" of views, for which, as is well known, V.I. Lenin sharply criticized them.

But it is equally incorrect to view Bukharin's views as anti-Leninist, as our historiography has done for many years by scrupulously—and with no attempt to conceal the hostility toward Bukharin—"collecting up" all his arguments with Lenin. Undoubtedly, he did not always voice fully mature thoughts at that time and was sometimes also given to theoretical delusions. Bukharin was still emerging as a theoretician. At the same time, from the very start he showed himself to be an original thinker and endeavored to put forward his own ideas. While taking up Lenin's ideas, Bukharin did not simply repeat or even expand on them but imparted his own thinking to them and interpreted them through his own world outlook and his own system of views. His disputes with Lenin were scientific disputes, debates on theoretical questions between like-minded people; this was and should be a norm within the party.

That was how Lenin regarded them; not only did he not suppress such disputes but, on the contrary, he did his utmost to support and develop them. This facilitated his own thought and quest for the truth. Much later, at the 11th party congress, he lamented sincerely: "It's a shame Comrade Bukharin is not present at the congress, I would like to argue with him a little...." (Vol 45, p 84). The question was that of state capitalism—a question to which Lenin imputed special significance—and he evidently reckoned that he could express his own views better and more intelligibly for the congress delegates through argument with his old adversary.

Bukharin returned from emigration after the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution. Bukharin devoted all his energies and all his fiery talent to the revolutionary struggle. In 1917 after his return to Russia he published no less than 65 works. Bukharin did a great deal in Moscow to prepare the socialist revolution and was one of the leaders of the Moscow party committee, a member of the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee, and editor of SOTSIALDEMOKRAT, the organ of the Bolsheviks' Moscow committee.

Bukharin played a notable role in the work of the Sixth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks), which he attended in Petrograd as a delegate from the Moscow organization. His mission to deliver a report at the congress on the war and the international situation was acknowledgment of his authority in analyzing the development of world capitalism. He also delivered a speech opposing Lenin's appearance in court. By a huge majority the congress adopted a resolution on this question based on the draft proposed by Bukharin. He was elected a member of the party Central Committee by the sixth congress (he was a member of the Central Committee until February 1937; a candidate member from 1934).

By the October Revolution he had emerged as the party's prominent theoretician with a brilliant style of independent thought which reflected the high degree of erudition and the breadth of cultural horizon that are characteristic, as it happens, of many of Lenin's comrades-in-arms. It was quite logical for Bukharin to enter the party's leading nucleus after the October victory, head the PRAVDA editorial office, and publish a number of works on questions of the theory of the revolutionary movement. His book "The Economics of the Transitional Period" and other works are still awaiting serious study.

But his political career also went through a difficult patch during this post-October period. Suffice it to recall his violent disputes with Lenin in the spring of 1918 over the Brest peace. Bukharin, at the head of the "leftist Communists," opposed the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. How are we to regard this step? We have no grounds for doubting the sincerity of Bukharin's stance or for doubting that in these disputes he was honestly and forthrightly standing up for his principles and his understanding of the prevailing situation. Much more valuable is the fact that in the same year he openly condemned what he himself acknowledged to be this "major political error." According to him, during the entire subsequent period Lenin's influence on him was growing constantly.

To a certain degree Bukharin's waverings reflected both the traits of his character—which V.I. Lenin pointed out later during a trade union debate at which Bukharin put forward a buffer program—and also his "revolutionary romanticism" and his devotion to old party concepts, which made him unable to see a change in the situation or the creation of a new situation.

Vladimir Ilich thoroughly uncovered the methodological roots of these mistakes by Bukharin. While describing him in the famous "Letter to the Congress" as a most valuable and most important theoretician and the favorite of the party, Lenin pointed out at the same time that "it is very doubtful" that Bukharin's theoretical views "can be seen as completely Marxist, since there is something scholastic about him (he never learned and, I think, he never fully understood dialectics)" (Vol 45, p 345).

Lenin's assessment of Bukharin is quoted quite often. But are we aware of all its depths?

It is worth mentioning that Vladimir Ilich had previously—particularly in the last few years—frequently mentioned the merits of Bukharin the theoretician. Even at the time of the trade union debate, while sharply criticizing a number of the theses that Bukharin put forward, Lenin noted: "Comrade Bukharin's numerous invaluable qualities include his theoretical ability and his interest in trying to ascertain the theoretical roots of any issue." But of course, this did not preclude but, on the contrary, presupposed high exactingness toward someone whom Lenin considered one of the party's leaders.

In our opinion it is important to stress that while comprehensively and dialectically characterizing Bukharin in the "Letter to the Congress," Lenin did stipulate that his comments "only apply to the present" (late 1922). The shortcomings noted may be overcome by supplementing knowledge and overcoming one-sidedness (Vol 45, p 346).

Bukharin justified these hopes in many respects in his subsequent work on the Politburo, at the PRAVDA editorial office, and later, as of 1924, at the head of the editorial collegium of the journal BOLSHEVIK, the party's theoretical organ. His activity in the international communist movement and in the Comintern was also considerable.

His great influence on an entire generation of revolutionary young people is indisputable. The book he wrote with Ye.A. Preobrazhenskiy, "The ABC of Communism," which, in Lenin's opinion, provided a superb explanation of the party's program, was for many years the main primer in the political enlightenment system.

His unusual strength of mind, his devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the nobleness of his spiritual makeup, his simplicity, uncommon sociability, and friendliness—all this made Bukharin the favorite of the party.

Under Lenin's influence there was a certain change in Bukharin's scientific views and his theoretical positions. After the trade union debate he escaped once and for all from the manifestations of his "infantile disorder"—"leftism." Bukharin consistently supported the New Economic Policy [NEP] and became one of the first people to popularize and propagandize it.

Bukharin's whole life after Vladimir Ilich's death was in effect devoted to further developing Lenin's ideas of socialism and Lenin's thoughts on the ways, forms, and methods of socialist building. We would like to stress that the substance of many of N.I. Bukharin's works of the midtwenties, in particular the book "The Path to Socialism and the Worker-Peasant Alliance," is the result of his long conversations with V.I. Lenin during the last years of the leader's life.

When analyzing Lenin's ideas on socialism Bukharin particularly singled out those of his thoughts that enabled the interests of all society to be seen in the light of the proletariat's class interests. The grossly distorted concept of class was one of the crucial elements that gave rise to the deviations from Lenin's concept of socialism which appeared in the opposition's programs and in Stalin's ideas that took shape later. This was one of the most important points of the contradictions which divided Bukharin and Trotskiy, Zinovyev, and Kamenev, and later, at the end of the twenties, Bukharin and Stalin. Alluding to the priority of the proletariat's class interests, his opponents deemed possible the oppression, economic despoliation, and even physical elimination (annihilation) of other social groups in society in the name of these interests and for the sake of a socialist future.

It was typical of Bukharin to stress ideas of unifying and rallying all forces in society around the working class and under its leadership. Clarifying Lenin's understanding of this task, he noted in an article "Lenin's Political Testament" that the "proletariat leads all the working people, is responsible for the development of all society as a whole, ...development does not occur by widening the abyss between the main classes (the working class and the peasantry), and a 'third revolution' is by no means in the offing."

Proceeding from the premise of Lenin's concept of socialism and the ways to build it, Bukharin posed acutely the question of uniting the working class and the peasantry, proving that this alliance is not only a principle of party and state policy but an objective necessity and the underlying foundation on which society's development toward socialism as alone possible. It was a question of elaborating and practically implementing a policy that would unite and organize the various strata and forces in a mixed society with a view to building socialism. Analyzing the nature of the relations between the classes in the transitional period, Bukharin showed that, after gaining state power and establishing its own dictatorship, the working class, which has switched to the peaceful building of the new society, "no longer preaches civil war within the country but advocates an internal peace-making based on the full recognition of the new power, its laws, its institutions...." The very forms themselves of the class struggle change accordingly: Whereas before, during the period of "war communism," it had been of a primarily military-political character, it now assumed a peaceful economic form. He considered that victory in this type of class struggle is the conclusive victory of socialism. Bukharin produced a detailed and in-depth analysis of the various forms of class struggle in "economic guise" which can in general terms be defined as the struggle, overthrow, and reshaping by developing socialism of nonsocialist economic forms, where socialism is victorious by virtue of its economic advantages, through greater labor productivity, economic rationality, and economy of forces and resources.

Lenin's thought as developed by Bukharin in conformity with the conditions of the twenties was vested with the humanist idea of development. It proceeded from the premise of the working masses' creative role in socialist building and provided a humane solution to the problem of the historical fate of nonproletarian strata of Soviet society as the victory of socialism draws near.

Bukharin made a marked contribution to the theoretical elaboration of NEP issues. He regarded it as a correct economic policy of universal significance that ensured the development of productive forces and an increase in production aimed at meeting working people's material requirements.

Explaining the significance of NEP as a strategic means of transition to socialism, Bukharin devoted great attention to the cooperative system. This economic form made it possible to firmly combine the overall aim—that of creating socialism—with the private interest of the small-scale producer, the peasant above all. He proved that the many forms of cooperation—from buying-and-selling and credit to production cooperation—are the most effective, reliable, and at the same time the least conflict-inducing and most painless and humane way of effecting the peasant masses' transition to socialism. The forms of peasant cooperation must correspond to the real level of economic development, and it is necessary to act by interesting the peasants, by ensuring the advantageousness of their formation into cooperatives, by applying the methods of persuasion, and by supporting people's initiative. The cooperative system, Bukharin noted, "must be an organ ensuring the peasant's economic development." Then, motivated by the material interests of his own economic growth, the "peasant will advance" without coercion "along the path of transforming himself and his economic facility into an element of our statewide socialist system."

In this connection Bukharin stressed the importance of economic methods in managing economic processes; he justified the need to develop the market, trade, and credit, seeing them as effective levers for regulating economic life on the part of the proletarian state which has concentrated in its hands the "commanding heights" of the economy in order to ensure the advance toward socialism. Bukharin believed that as the cooperative system develops it will link itself ever more closely with state industry via trade, and the peasant farmsteads will be increasingly involved in the state-cooperative system and gradually "we will draw nearer and nearer to socialism, that is, to a planned economy where everything belongs to all the working people and where all production is designed to satisfy all working people's requirements."

Bukharin substantiated the need to ensure proportional, balanced economic development as one of the key tasks of planning—a development that would make it possible to ensure high growth rates in all sectors over a protracted period. According to Bukharin, this is the most important condition for the successful building of socialism.

On the whole Bukharin correctly understood and revealed the significance of the political superstructure and, above all, the state for economic development. He wrote: "The overall significance of proletarian dictatorship consists of the fact that it is the main lever for the economic transformation of society. The working class uses the engine of state power in its hands to...transform society's economic relations onto a socialist footing."

Bukharin was one of the most resolute opponents of Trotskiy's theory of "permanent revolution." So when the question of elaborating ways of building socialism in our country arose, he resolutely opposed those recommendations and proposals that rested on and proceeded from this theory. It was natural that in the early twenties Bukharin found himself at the head of the struggle against Trotskiyism as an ideological trend. He consistently defended Lenin's positions and Lenin's understanding of the ideals, forms, and methods of socialist building.

Bukharin saw the growth of elements of the bureaucratic degeneration of the apparatus of power and the domination of bureaucrats, with their indifference to the interests of the masses, as one of the main dangers facing socialism. It is not surprising that he radically diverged with Stalin, who pinned his hopes on the administrative-bureaucratic means of overcoming difficulties and contradictions in society's development on the path toward socialism.

Two quite different approaches to the principles of socialism, which were also determined by political differences, could be seen in this clash. Two differing concepts of socialism ultimately collided.

In this connection it must be noted that the "Bukharin alternative" about which a great many people are now writing and talking was not a matter of tactical differences of opinion with Stalin or of disputes about the choice of specific solutions in practical policy; rather, it was a matter of defending Lenin's concept of socialism against Stalinist distortions of and deviations from it, which had already reared their head in the late twenties.

Bukharin himself admitted that the main contradiction consisted in determining the nature of further movement along the path of socialist building and its methods—in other words, it was a question of the country's future and the attitude toward Lenin's understanding of the ideals of socialism.

Stalin's ideas were based on the so-called theory of the exacerbation of the class struggle as socialism approaches. Bukharin sharply criticized these theses. This "theory," he said, "confuses two quite different things. It confuses a certain temporary phase when the class struggle does become worse...with the general course of development. It elevates the very fact of the current exacerbation into some kind of inevitable law of our development. According to this strange theory it turns out that the farther we proceed in the advance toward socialism, the more difficulties accumulate and the worse the class struggle becomes; and on the very verge of socialism we must, evidently, either declare a civil war or die of starvation and fall in battle." Bukharin issued a fully justified warning that these "theories" may lead to the assertion of administrative coercion and contravene Lenin's concept of socialist humanism.

In the thirties, after his removal from the Politburo, he developed the ideas of the humanist nature of socialism.

N.I. Bukharin's activity up until the late twenties accorded with the policy being implemented by most of the Central Committee. Other Central Committee members also shared his concept of gradual socialist transformations. The decisions of the 15th party congress, which

regarded the upcoming collectivization of agriculture as a gradual process that should only be implemented with the peasants' consent, are typical in this respect. The development of the simplest types and forms of cooperation was deemed the immediate practical task. However, a month after the completion of the congress' work, the situation changed abruptly and a sharp split occured between the members of the Central Committee. In connection with grain procurement difficulties, a policy of extraordinary measures began to be implemented on I.V. Stalin's initiative which alarmed N.I. Bukharin and his confederates A.I. Rykov, M.P. Tomskiy, and others, who saw this turnabout as the renunciation of the NEP.

Stalin transferred to the plane of political confrontation these contradictions in the assessment of the party's future course both in the agrarian sphere and also in determining the rates of industrialization. By juggling the facts and falsifying their views, he tried to present Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy as the new opposition to the Central Committee, the so-called "rightist deviation."

Speaking at the April (1929) Central Committee Plenum, Bukharin said: "You won't get a new opposition! None of us will head any 'new' or 'very new' opposition.... How many times must I say that we are in favor of kolkhozes, we are in favor of sovkhozes, we are in favor of rural reconstruction, and we are in favor of a resolute struggle against the kulaks to ensure that they stop slandering us?"

All the appeals made by Bukharin and his supporters to the members of the Central Committee were completely rejected. In November 1929 Bukharin was removed from the Politburo and relieved of his duties as editor of PRAVDA. He found a use for his efforts in the Supreme Council of the National Economy and then in the People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry. His participation in the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of which he became a full member in 1929, was a fruitful one. Bukharin headed the Institute of the History of the Natural Sciences and Technology and was involved in publishing the SORENA (Socialist Reconstruction and Science) journal founded on his initiative. In the thirties he also devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of the development of Soviet and world culture. In 1934-1936 Bukharin edited IZVESTIYA. Under his leadership the newspaper became more lively, more interesting, and the best journalists and publicists of the time were involved in its publication.

Bukharin's fruitful activity received the recognition it deserved. For instance, there was talk of his honest attitude toward the cause at the January (1933) plenum of the party's Central Committee. Nevertheless the fate of those party members who tried to prevent the spread of the personality cult befell him also. Stalin saw them as internal opposition to his own despotism. At the December (1936) and February-March (1937) plenums of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Bukharin was charged with counterrevolutionary activity. Following Yezhov's report, the February-March plenum adopted the decision to expel N.I. Bukharin and also A.I. Rykov from candidate membership of the Central Committee and from the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Stalin proposed that their cases be handed over to the investigative organs of the NKVD. In February 1938 the iniquitous court closed after convicting Bukharin on trumped-up charges.

Bukharin's last words at the court sitting voiced bitter regret that he would not take part in building a socialist society. This was the sincere regret of a man who from his early days had linked his life with the Bolshevik party and done a great deal to ensure the triumph of its cause.

It is only today, 50 years later, that historical justice has triumphed. All the monstrous accusations have been lifted from Bukharin and he has been posthumously rehabilitated in the party. Everything of value in his creative legacy that has retained its topicality is being taken into the CPSU's arsenal. His works on the cooperative system and on combining personal and public interests in socialist building, on democratism and humanism in Soviet society, and on Lenin's concept of socialism are being studied once more. His expressed thoughts on combining cooperative and individual activity, using commodity-money relations within the Soviet economic system, on economic accountability [khozraschet], and on trade have not lost their significance either. His example of creative enthusiasm and devotion to the interests of the party and the humanist ideals of socialism retain their vital force.

N.I. Bukharin's name and deeds have been restored to the Soviet people and party. This is one of the manifestations of our revolutionary restructuring.

Agricultural

Central Committee Farming Conference Reported

PM1410113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2-3, 4

[TASS report on 12 October meeting on agriculture at CPSU Central Committee addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "To Develop the Lease System and Restructure Economic Relations in the Countryside"]

[Text] As already reported, on 12 October at the CPSU Central Committee there was a meeting with leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agro-industrial complex enterprises employing the lease contract, the personnel of lease collectives, party raykom secretaries, scientists, and agricultural specialists.

Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said:

I welcome you all, comrades, to our party's Central Committee. We have invited representatives of the agro-industrial complex, kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders, the direct leaders of lease collectives, leaseholders, personnel from the processing industry in the agro-industrial complex, a group of secretaries of rural party raykoms, ministers, and other comrades connected with the agro-industrial complex, in whose successful operation and good results all society and all our country's working people have a vital interest.

In general, we decided to hold this meeting in order to consult with you. We have chosen a time when the harvest campaign has abated slightly, although equally important tasks connected with the switch to the wintering period—another crucial period when, as in spring, every day is very important—are beginning in agriculture. That is the first point.

Second, we took into account the fact that the winter period lies ahead, a time when it is necessary to consider deeply the results of the year and of the past years of the 5-year plan from the following viewpoint: What kind of increase has there been during the years of restructuring and how are things changing in agriculture? What is happening, what have these 3 years shown, what should we concentrate on, what tasks must be resolved immediately, without wasting time, and what should be completely abandoned, once and for all? I am referring to everything that is a brake on progress in agriculture and the agrarian sector as a whole and therefore retards the solution of the most important socioeconomic and sociopolitical tasks such as, in particular, the country's food supply.

Another point: These months will certainly be the busiest in all the years of restructuring in terms of the switch to new forms of economic management. There are people present here who have already embarked on this process, have already accumulated initial experience, and have certainly experienced both joy and sorrow, and some people have already taken a few lumps.... But this schooling in the assimilation of the new economic management methods is necessary, and in this school it is always those who are the first to begin and who open up and blaze the trail who have the hardest time.

Our intention is that all agriculture and the entire agrarian sector should travel this path. As I have already said, a great deal will be done in these fall and winter months. In kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other subunits of the agrarian sector there will certainly be a lot of discussion now involving leaders, specialists, and economists, involving party and soviet personnel, about how to advance the process of assimilating the new methods, the process of restructuring economic relations in the countryside.

We have come to this meeting with a far-reaching aim. There is to be a party Central Committee plenum in February, and we will have to rethink the experience of past years, essentially the experience of running agriculture during the years of socialism and especially in recent years, when we have begun to assimilate new economic management methods, and to formulate a long-term agrarian policy.

The agrarian task requires that everyone take part in resolving it, otherwise it is impossible to resolve the food question. It is a nationwide task and affects all sectors of the national economy. So all our economic sectors must be clear about this question. Of course, it is primarily personnel in the agrarian sector and rural working people who are interested in this. They have questions: Should they associate themselves with something or not, is it reliable or not? What is it—an experiment or a long-term state policy? This is all natural, because when you tackle something like the lease system, you are thinking in terms of many years.

I remember when I was in Krasnoyarsk recently; there was very vigorous discussion of the question of the fate of cooperatives and the cooperative movement in the country. Not everything is going smoothly. Among the cooperative members there are many honest people who are really prepared to show initiative, gumption, economic independence, and enterprise, to help society to resolve many questions that are perhaps beyond the ability of large enterprises, and to fill the gaps that exist in our national economy. It was with this aim that our policy, which is based on previous experience in our country and among our foreign friends, was conceived. But antisocial elements have also received an opportunity to legalize their illegal income via cooperatives.

All this is happening, and do not think that we do not see it and are unaware of it. No, with glasnost nowadays everything is known. But we are not panicking, we are studying all these phenomena. I think we should not delay the study of them but find economic and administrative levers for influencing such phenomena. But in principle we are in favor of developing the cooperative sector.

In Krasnoyarsk I was asked: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, are you personally in favor of cooperatives, or against them?" I asked the person who had put this question: "I suppose you're a member of a cooperative?" "Yes," he said, "I'm a member of a cooperative, but I want to have a clear idea of whether or not I should continue to have anything to do with this."

I saw that he was a decent person, he was thinking correctly, but he wanted to straighten a few things out for himself. He is not alone. Everyone is waiting to see what the agrarian policy for the long term will be. There must be total clarity on this point for all society, all sectors of the economy, and, of course, above all for rural working people.

But in order to arrive at a policy relying both on science and on accumulated experience, we need constantly to obtain reliable information, especially about new processes, because I think our agrarian policy will be primarily geared toward absorbing everything accumulated in recent years. This meeting is valuable in this sense to us, the leadership, the Central Committee, and the government. It is intended to be an opportunity to formulate and express openly and freely your assessment of questions of agrarian policy—as you see it now and as you would like to see it in the future.

We have invited you not in order to hear euphonious speeches, but in order to obtain information from you, learn your opinions, and consult with you. The point is not the literary form of the thoughts you express, but their profundity. So let anyone who wants to take the floor. Our discussion must be democratic.

It seems clear to us now that there are several key problems without whose solution the agrarian sector is unlikely to take off. This is how we see it: Unless new methods of economic management are assimilated, the agrarian sector will not develop the requisite pace and will achieve no new frontiers in terms of harvest yields, stock unit productivity, and rural restructuring as a whole. This is the first group of most important problems. Their solution must be properly tackled because—let's be blunt—some people have halted in their tracks when faced with this complex task, and for 2-3 years now they have been just marking time. Yet life demands that the soil produce output and stock units produce output, because that output is much needed by our society.

We realize that our agriculture can advance not only via the assimilation of new methods of economic management but also on the basis of assimilating advanced intensive technologies. This applies to crop farming and stockraising alike. I would say that these are the two faces of one and the same coin—the assimilation of new methods of economic management and new technologies on the basis of achievements in biotechnology, selective breeding work, technology, and chemistry—of everything that is subsequently synthesized to take the form of intensive technologies.

Third. All these advanced methods and intensive technologies have to be mastered by people. This is why unless we have people who are well established in the countryside—and we know that there are plenty of problems here—there will be no success. The social infrastructure of the countryside, the social reorganization of rural areas—these comprise the next group of questions, without which the agrarian policy is unlikely to take off. Their solution will create a social environment in which man can live normally, in which his family can lead a normal life. He will be in a position to totally devote himself to his work, to go all out as it were, relying on both science and technology and utilizing the new methods of economic management.

The fourth group of questions comprises the problems of processing, storage, and transportation. These issues are so important and so topical today that resources must be channeled primarily in this direction. If today we were to process everything that kolkhozes and sovkhozes produce, if we were to pick, gather, transport, store, and process it and then get it to the store shelves and to the consumers, we would right away achieve an increase of at least 25 percent, even 40 percent in some areas.

Economists have estimated that capital investments in storage and processing are 3-4 times more effective than in production—given that the aim is to boost agricultural output. Indeed, why produce output if it will only go to waste? This is a paradox, to say the least. It is simply impermissible.

We have earmarked almost R80 billion for capital investment over a 7-year period and have recruited the services of all machine-building sectors, including the defense sectors. In the very near future agrarian sector workers should start noticing that things are changing for the better.

Take the problem of roads, for example. What an acute problem it is, both economically and socially! We have also adopted a special program for regions which are simply in a mess owing to the lack of roads: They cannot carry on living like this, let alone develop. I mean the Non-Chernozem Zone. We have earmarked R35 billion over a 7-year period. Since this region is experiencing difficulties with construction industry workers and the construction industry's base, we have brought in military construction workers there. Work is already under way, and I think that tremendous progress will be achieved as a result of the implementation of this program.

It might be worth saying today that we do not always cope, we do not always do on schedule everything that is planned in our programs. This must be said, and I think that the comrades from the center who are present here and the sector leaders must draw the appropriate conclusions. It is necessary that these tasks are resolved, that proper backing is provided for their solution, that they are constantly kept in the field of vision, and that the questions of finance and material and technical supplies, the questions of developing the construction industry base are promptly solved. Here we need discipline, organization, and responsibility. We will substantially enhance this responsibility.

These are the four groups of major problems that are of paramount importance, and they must be solved. Moreover, work is already under way in our country along all these avenues. They are already being considered as part of the 13th 5-Year Plan, on which the Gosplan and the government are working.

So, we seem to be clear about the basic problems of the countryside. Yet, I am just about to come to the main point. You know, comrades, that not everything we channel into the countryside yields the proper returns. I would like to cite the following data in support of my argument. The average annual gross output of agriculture in 1986-1987 increased 1.4 times or 41 percent compared with the average annual level achieved in 1966-1970. During the same period, capital investment in agriculture increased 2.4 times. Fixed production assets in agriculture stood at R347 billion in 1987, which is 3.3 times more than in 1970, when they stood at R106 billion. You can see the huge amounts of capital that have been invested, but they have failed to yield the necessary return; the state has not obtained what it expected.

What is the problem? Whichever way you look at it, comrades, the main point now is that the economic relations now prevailing in the countryside clearly fail to encourage people's creative, active, and enterprising labor. What has happened is that people have been alienated from the soil, from the means of production on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This alienation is stronger and greater in the countryside than in other sectors of the national economy. People join farms as hired workers in order to do a job of work within a given time—people, after all, have to earn their living. Of course, there have been some incentives, but these workers are not the kind of workers on the land or in the stock units that peasants are supposed to be. We are, after all, talking about a living world—land, nature, and the processes occurring in it. People must know what the soil needs to live, what it needs to breathe, they must have a feel for the land. If you work in a stock unit, you must be thoroughly familiar with living organisms.

Those who have grown up in the countryside have memories of being close to nature and the animal world. All this influences and shapes a man, his peasant's mentality, his way of life. By alienating people from the soil and the means of production we have turned the steward of the land into a wage earner.

Bearing in mind the fact that all this occurred against a background whereby the countryside either failed to receive many things or did not receive them in the required quantity, that the sector's equivalence in exchange with other sectors of the national economy was disrupted, the countryside lagged in its development, especially its social development. When people noticed this, they made their choice and left for the cities. They broke off with the countryside and the land, abandoning everything. Those who stayed behind developed in their minds a certain impression of the cities—shining settlements where everything is available, where there are conditions for a good life—commodities, products, leisure facilities, set working hours, and so on. Even though we know that things were not quite like that in the cities. But in the minds of those who stayed behind, these ideas were transformed into an attitude to work, and this had its effect on the results of work in the countryside.

In view of the fact that much was disrupted, kolkhozes failed to achieve the necessary results and found themselves in difficult economic conditions. Matters reached the point where, generally speaking, nobody made any special effort to struggle for higher results, apart from a certain percentage of front-ranking farms. The point is that the mentality which developed was: Since the labor of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and rural working people is not valued, since it is taken by the state for next to nothing, we will ultimately adopt a corresponding attitude to work. And that is what happened.

This happened because vast numbers of leadership personnel were indifferent to the fate of the agrarian sector.

We are paying a high price for all the serious distortions allowed to occur in the agrarian policy whose foundations were shaped by V.I. Lenin himself. At the most difficult times, even during the Civil War, Lenin showed constant concern to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the bonds between city and countryside, and to maintain definite ties between them. The party did not evade the solution of these problems even in those fateful, crucial, and hard times. Thus it was the correct solution to the question of the "average" peasant, the policy toward "average" peasants, that ensured victory over Kolchak and a breakthrough in the Civil War.

And finally, the NEP. We must remember that civil war was still in progress. But what a turnaround was achieved! Again, what lay at the basis of this policy was consideration of the real interests of the peasantry and the real processes which were under way in the country. The long period which followed was a time when understanding of the problems of the countryside alternated with misunderstanding and underestimation of these problems, with the latter prevailing. This has led to the situation which we have inherited today and which we have begun to rectify. Therefore I would put it this way: Comrades, the most important thing today is to make people full-fledged masters of the land again. This is the purpose of the restructuring of the economic relations in the countryside.

The experience which we have at our disposal today indicates that we can cope with this task, but that we must not try to simplify it. People have changed to a certain extent during the time which has elapsed, they have a different mentality, and changing this is not so easy. Therefore the first and foremost task is the restructuring of economic relations.

What is important here? I have inquired about the results of the work of collectives which have switched to the new method of operation—the lease contract—only this year. There are striking changes, comrades! Although the year has not ended yet, it is already clear what is happening. A tonne or a tonne and a half—this is the difference in yields between leasing collectives and the ordinary method of farming. The minimum milk

production increases total 500-600 kg, but increases of 1,000 kg have been achieved in the main! This immediately changes all indicators—productivity and the correlation between productivity and labor remuneration. The wages are rising, but they have been earned, therefore they are quite different. This means that when we are saying that we need new machines to apply new techniques, that we need new ranges of fertilizers to maintain soil fertility, that we need many other things—this is all correct and it will have to be resolved. However, it will have to be resolved on the basis of new relations in the countryside, on the basis of restoring the peasant as the master of the land and of the means of production. And the human potential makes all this immediately accessible and is successfully translating it into reality.

What do the last 2-3 years of work indicate; what is happening in the assimilation of new methods, and especially the leasing contract? This question occupies pride of place in our discussion today. The contract is a major step forward, and leasing is a type of contract, but a contract of a higher order. Under a leasing contract people take over both land and the means of production for a specific period and the only thing that links them to the farm, to those who gave them the land, are economic relations. This is something entirely different. We must keep explaining what is happening in the countryside, and what the first experience of this indicates. We must clarify what has turned out right and what has turned out wrong, what we have to remember, and what the leadership should resolve. Especially since a draft law on leasing is in preparation and, we believe, a new law on land tenure is needed. Here it is important to take into account all the available experience, both positive and negative, everything that has proved its worth, and everything that has not and that ought to be discarded.

Why, despite everything, is leasing not progressing or progressing slowly, and why are both managers and specialists having to battle with it? Why have many kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers still not adopted it? Maybe because the practice of paying out unearned money persists in our country, so why should people bother with leasing? Why should they think about the land? Why should they spend sleepless nights? The upshot is that we are paying out money, that we continue to pay out money without getting the goods. Most certainly the main point is to stop paying out money that has not been earned on kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Immediately the question arises: What is going to happen to loss-making farms? But after all, loss-making farms are a phenomenon which has to be looked into anyway, and conclusions have to be drawn. Just take a look what is happening in our country. The labor remuneration fund on loss-making farms in the country as a whole totals 1.8 times the gross income of those farms. The upshot is that they continue to draw their wages while operating at a loss. And on farms which make a profit? Wages amount to 65 percent, the wage fund amounts to 65 percent, and 35 percent is used for development and everything else. This is the picture. There are 6,500 laggard sovkhozes and kolkhozes in our country. They have in their possession 21 percent of all agricultural land and 18 percent of plowland. Just think about what is happening, comrades!

We cannot put up with such phenomena. Just take a look at the "Nazarovskiy" sovkhoz and the "Podsosenskiy" sovkhoz about which I spoke when I visited Krasnoyarsk. Both are located in Krasnoyarsk Kray. And in the same rayon. Yields on the "Nazarovskiy" sovkhoz are 3 quintals higher, and the milk yield per cow totals 4,508 kg. On the latter sovkhoz it is around 2,300 kg per cow. That is a difference of almost 50 percent. Labor productivity on the "Nazarovskiy" is also almost double that of the "Podsosenskiy." Yet the average monthly wages of workers in both the "Nazarovskiy" and the "Podsosenskiy" sovkhozes in 1987 were the same—R236. How can we carry on like this, comrades?

Or take another example. Bogotolskiy Rayon, Krasnoyarsk Kray: The Kritovskiy" sovkhoz is unprofitable but the average monthly wages of its main specialists totaled R270 in 1987. In addition, bonuses of R1,620 were paid out on six salaries. Altogether their average monthly wages totaled R411. Is this the way to develop our agriculture, and the economy in general?

In Rostov Oblast there are the "Kagalnitskiy" sovkhoz and the "Rodina" kolkhoz in Morozovskiy Rayon. Look at the difference, comrades. Yields on the first total 31.7 quintals and on the second 13.3 quintals. Grain production on "Kagalnitskiy" sovkhoz totals 28,000 tonnes and on the "Rodina" 3,000 tonnes. Grain sales to the state from the first farm are 20,000 tonnes, and the second farm 2,000 tonnes. Milk yields per cow on the "Kagalnitskiy" total 3,151 kg, and on the "Rodina" 1,947 kg. Milk production on the first farm is 5,559 tonnes, and on the second 595 tonnes. Milk sales to the state total 5,379 tonnes and 563 tonnes respectively. Labor productivity on the "Kagalnitskiy" totals R15,000 and on the other farm R10,000. Profitability on the first farm totals 64.7 percent and on the second 2.8 percent. Yet there is virtually no difference in labor remuneration.

Or take Volnyanskiy Rayon in Zaporozhye Oblast. The "Pervoye Maya" and "Pobeda" kolkhozes. I will cite only a few economic indicators: Profitability on the "Pervoye Maya" is 52.7 percent and on "Pobeda" 13.4 percent. The profit on the first totals R1.31 million and on the second R270,000. The average monthly wages of a machine operator on the first total R278 and on the second R292. Milkmaids' wages on the first total R221 and on the second R259.

And in Donetsk Oblast the "Rossiya" kolkhoz and the kolkhoz named for Chkalov in Volnovakhskiy Rayon: On the "Rossiya" profitability totals 65.4 percent; on the kolkhoz named for Chkalov 11.6 percent. Average

monthly wages of machine operators on the first total R256 and on the second R260. Average monthly wages of hog breeders on the first total R208 and on the second R227.

In Latvia there are the "50-letiye SSR" and the "Islitse" sovkhozes. Let us take a look at their yields. Grain yields total 59 quintals on the first and 30 quintals on the second; sugar beet yields total 367 quintals and 220 quintals respectively. Milk yields total 4,264 kg on the first and 3,765 kg on the second. The profits of the first are R677,000 and of the second R10,000. Profitability is 12 percent and 0.5 percent, respectively. Average monthly wages on the first total R227 and on the second R245.

I could give more examples, comrades. So the main thing holding up the switch to the lease system is the fact that we are continuing to pay out unearned money on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. As long as this practice exists people will not switch to lease arrangements. This is the conclusion we have reached. I ask you to think about it: Have we arrived at the correct conclusion or not? Two: There is nevertheless a mood among the people in favor of the switch to lease contracts. It is a mass phenomenon. But it is meeting resistance from farm specialists and leaders. You have probably read about the recent meeting at a kolkhoz in Mogilev Oblast, Belorussia, about the kolkhoz leader's battle with the specialists. About the way the specialists conducted a deliberate, skillful line, using the education given to them by Soviet power to dull people's consciousness, confuse their minds, and sow distrust of the lease system. And thereby halt the process.

I have already said that the lease contract shows up just how successfully our specialists have been working.

It is not just that the specialist is dragging his feet and not realizing his potential fully. It has been hard in the past to realize it, given people's status in the actual economic situation that had been created in the agrarian sector. But now that the relationship between people and labor, people and the land, people and the means of production—and now that the job, peasant labor in general, is changing—the peasant needs someone around who is well-informed and knowledgeable. The fact that some specialists are professionally unprepared for work in the new conditions is something else again. The lease system will expose this. The peasant is not going to pay someone or conclude a contract with someone who is not able to help him. And people know what people are worth. They know it very well and they are quick to figure things out. People by and large want a specialist around, want him to join the lease collective and take charge of it. I think this should be welcomed and encouraged. In fact, that is what the specialist chose his profession for. Now he must put this choice into practice, unless he was actually mistaken, unless he just drifted into the specialist's role. But if he did drift into it, he must simply switch to another sphere and do something that suits him.

The lease system sorts everyone out. I think that the vast majority of specialists, in the conditions of the switch to the new management methods, will find their niches precisely, because they are essential members of lease collectives. These are the people who will take charge of the lease collectives.

But it may also happen that specialists will stay in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the lease collectives will conclude contracts with them for services, for consultations. This is acceptable too. This should be decided locally, taking into account the situation the particular farm finds itself in. Therefore, it seems to me that we must now firmly switch specialists' attention to ensuring that they all feel the need to switch to the new methods. In my opinion this is the second reason why the lease system is proving slow to catch on, although a considerable proportion of people want to get involved in the new forms of management. Perhaps your experience and observations will show what has to be done here and how we have to act.

Finally, what kind of lease system: within the kolkhoz framework, within the sovkhoz framework, some kind of family system (a variation on the family livestock unit), or something else? I believe there is no simple answer to these questions. Basically, our approach remains the same as the one we expounded, in particular, at the kolkhoz members' congress. But the main thing is clear: It is necessary to reveal the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes through the lease contract. The entire infrastructure that farms possess would then be used in the interests of the lessees. Very valuable in this respect is the experience of the "Zybino" state pedigree livestock farm in Yasnogorskiy Rayon, Tula Oblast, and other farms whose potential is being revealed through the creation of lease subunits.

This, I repeat, is the chief direction. But people's desire to take possession of land and facilities and set up their own family livestock units does not contradict socialism either, comrades. This kind of owner would be operating on land which is the property of the whole people. He would be operating in a country where power belongs to the people and peasants, to working people, and it would determine the normative basis of mutual relations. So he would be working in the interests of socialism, not against them. Therefore, it seems to me, there are no insuperable contradictions here and there is a whole variety of different options. In Belorussia, the Baltic area, and the Non-Chernozem zone there are remote places, cut off from the centers. And if someone decides to return to an old neglected farmstead (I received a letter the other day from the Baltic area, Lithuania, I think, expressing gratitude for returning farmsteads to people), then that is fine! A man has been drawn to the land, he makes a certain arrangement with a particular farm or some organization, he has returned and is now utilizing something that has been neglected in recent years. There are big opportunities here.

But no doubt you will have more detailed observations to make on this score. At any rate, we would like you to give a sincere, truthful picture of the process of switching to lease arrangements, its achievements, problems, and difficulties. What needs to be solved—this is the chief question.

I want to focus the conference's attention on the main topic, concentrate on lease arrangements. What is the situation here, and what would you advise the CPSU Central Committee and government to consider when elaborating agrarian policy? Your advice is also essential to those who are intending to switch to the new forms of management this fall and this winter. So, from this viewpoiont too, your experience is essential.

M.A. Chartayev, chairman of the Ordzhonikidze kolkhoz in Akushinskiy Rayon, Dagestan ASSR, took the floor. He gave a detailed account of the collective's work in lease conditions over the past 4 years. During this time the prime cost of output has fallen by a little over R4 million amd profitability has risen from 2.8 percent to 73 percent. Formerly pay constituted 120 percent of gross income, now it is only 38 percent. What has happened? They have brought people back to the land as genuine masters of it; the kolkhoz buys their products from them at state purchase prices.

An account has been established for each worker. The workers and the managers are in identical conditions and they all think along the same lines: What must be done to produce a particular item, to ensure greater benefits for milkmaids and shepherds, specialists or leaders?

Concerning the role of specialists in the new management conditions, the speaker stressed that sometimes they are reluctant to give their all to production. Why? Because on many farms they have guaranteed pay. There used to be people like that on this kolkhoz, but we had to get rid of them.

The kolkhoz chairman touched on a serious problem. At the moment the farm is in a position to sell to the state a large quantity of livestock to count toward the first quarter of next year, but it is not permitted to sell it. As a result the stockraising workers are having to use a large quantity of feed on the animals' upkeep. But the kolkhoz board has the right to decide for itself what products to see, in what quanitity, and when.

M.S. Gorbachev: This question is interesting because the oblast and the rayon are bound up with the plan and, thus, the overfulfillment of the plan. There is a contradiction. A farm or a subunit has an interest in supplying quality animals, and that is correct. But the rayon and the oblast do not have that interest. Because when the plan is not fulfilled this may affect local supply. I think that this problem must be resolved.

In our rayon, A.I. Kondratenko, first secretary of Kirovogradskiy party raykom in Kirovograd Oblast, said, the overwhelming majority of leaders, specialists, and ordinary workers are profoundly convinced that at the present stage the lease contract is the only possible way to achieve a sharp increase in labor productivity and, on that basis, to increase food output. Virtually all arable farming and a considerable proportion of stockraising have adopted various forms of that contract. Thanks to this it has been possible to increase the grain crop yield and increase the production of all other types of agricultural crops as well as meat and milk. The rayon has no loss-making farms any more, and profitability has increased. But these are only the first improvements, the lease contract has still to take full effect.

The time to agitate for the introduction of the new forms of labor organization has passed. Therefore, the speaker stated, I propose discussing the ability of the leader and how he uses the economic levers of management, without which life and management today are virtually impossible, as well as discussing the level of introduction of the lease contract and, most importantly, the effectiveness of its introduction. This must apply not only to economic managers but also to soviet and party leaders at local level. After all, the lease contract provides substantial levers, substantial instruments without which management today is impossible, especially since ordinary workers accept everything that is reasonable and intelligible.

M.S. Gorbachev: You see, people are saying, there is no need for agitation with us, let's get on with it.

A.I. Kondratenko: That is why we wholly support the lease contract, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

It is important how we work locally at introducing progressive forms of labor organization, but nevertheless much depends also on the middle and top echelons. It is necessary to resolve the vitally important questions more quickly, questions such as unequal exchange between industry and agriculture, for example. These unequal conditions cause considerable defects in the planning, production, sale, disposal, and use of agricultural output. I would also like the working class to show more class consciousness when resolving questions of supplying the peasants with machinery, the speaker noted. After all, a very great deal depends on this. And whereas before these serious omissions seemed somehow less significant against the background of general shortcomings, now when the leaseholder is coming into his own there must be a clear and disciplined attitude toward him.

M.S. Gorbachev: Did you detect the weaknesses in the raykom secretary's speech, comrades? I mean the main weakness—all those assembled here support the lease contract and the question is to compare experience, there is no need to engage in agitation with one another.

V.N. Makarov, director of the "Gusevskiy" sovkhoz in Gus-Khrustalnyy Rayon in Vladimir Oblast, described the pooling of forces of industrial enterprises in developing the countryside. A particular kind of cooperative has been created here, including 12 enterprises in addition to the sovkhoz. From making a loss the sovkhoz has now been transformed into a profit maker.

M.S. Gorbachev: An interesting example, comrades. When I worked on agricultural questions at the Central Committee, they asked me very vigorously to support this course—the unification of industry and the countryside. It is surely expedient in those regions where the whole countryside was based on plants. Such a symbiosis must be created somehow, such forms must be used.

We have operated subsidiary farms in industry, but the prime costs on those farms are two-three times higher. They are in despair. They do not know how to do things and are prepared to go to any lengths just so long as they get something out of it. Yet after organizing cooperatives like these and having organically linked industry and the countryside you can produce more food without diverting people from industry, and furthermore you can supply that food directly to the enterprise. All this is of great interest to the Non-Chernozem Zone, for example, where there is a great shortage of people. This example is not extreme, in my opinion, it is an experience taken from life.

The benefits of the lease on an economically strong farm were described by E. Dzhusupbekov, chairman of the Lenin kolkhoz in the Kirghiz SSR's Talasskiy Rayon. Having achieved a certain standard, the kolkhoz slowed down the pace of its development in recent years. It was only the resolute switch to a scientifically validated intensive path of development which promoted the further development of the farm's economy.

Sheep-raising families and the kolkhoz board have concluded 5-year contracts which indicate production targets and specify the principles of the lease and the rational use of fixed capital. The kolkhoz supplies the leaseholders with the necessary quantities of feed, fuel, and power, provides social support, and buys produce from the leaseholders at an agreed price. The net profit from the main sector—sheep raising—increased noticeably after the switch to the lease contract. The wages of each leaseholder shepherd rose from R240 to R350 a month in 2 years.

Bit by bit the lease contract is winning the hearts of the kolkhoz members. But not everyone took to it readily. There were opponents of restructuring in this matter, too. It is necessary to teach and to learn a lot, to persuade, and to demonstrate using concrete examples. Collective councils have been set up in the kolkhoz's production subunits. They independently resolve all questions connected with production.

After dwelling on the questions of further increasing the efficiency of the lease contract in sheep raising, the speaker drew attention specifically to the need to increase scientists' contribution to improving the pedigree content of the flock, which is of great significance for increasing productivity in the sector.

On our farm, A.N. Shteynli, chairman of the "Strana Sovetov" kolkhoz in Tyumen Oblast's Yurginskiy Rayon, said, we transferred land, fixed capital, finance, and material resources to the peasants. They control all this vast wealth themselves, they own it and use it.

At a meeting the kolkhoz members formed 22 independent economically accountable subunits, including 4 individual farms. As a result there was a considerable reduction in the administrative and managerial apparatus and their work is directly related to their wages. The manpower thus released made it possible to organize subsidiary production units and businesses and generate extra income.

It must be said that it was here, when labor collectives acquired resources and finance, that the cost-cutting mechanism really began to work. More than R200,000 in nonproduction costs have been saved now. Measured against the average annual level for the 11th 5-Year Plan the production of agricultural output and labor productivity have increased by more than one-third and profits have more than doubled.

In the future they want to create a free association of cooperative members here with their own current accounts. It is planned to boost production primarily through the extensive development of individual farms. Here we already have marvelous examples of workers, young people, enthusiastically engaged in fattening livestock and producing and procuring feed. It has to be said that some people are afraid that we will thereby destroy the fertility of the land, that the leaseholders will suck it dry, that they are self-seekers, and so forth. They have, however, been brought up on the land and know how to treat it. It is the basis of their life and they think about the future.

The question of the organization of livestock units, particularly everyday life on them, is now a very serious question. In the speakers's opinion, industry and scientists have to give them a lot of help. He stressed that personal homesteads must be developed in every possible way and farms must be given the right to acquire production lines and equipment to process agricultural produce.

M.S. Gorbachev: Aleksandr Nikolayevich's speech has suggested this idea to me. I have remembered that Georgia, because of the specific conditions obtaining there, asked 10 years ago now that its production be planned not in terms of an individual kolkhoz or sovkhoz or an individual sector but in terms of a rayon as a whole, all sectors. And the boundaries were removed, as

it were. This was initially received with misgivings. But when we saw the real picture in Georgia (and there a considerable part of the land is worth its weight in gold) we appreciated that it was correct and we integrated all the people and the whole republic into a single process for the production of citrus fruits, based on a combination of state and personal interest. We went along with them—how could people be helped to sell their output, how could they be relieved of these worries so that they did not have to travel all over the country in search of a market? That, by the way, affected not only the scale of production but also improved the situation.

In Stavropol efforts were made to remove in general all obstacles between sectors. Whether it is on a kolkhoz, a sovkhoz, or in the individual sector, everyone lives on the same land.

When Hungary started producing 1,300-1,500 kg of grain per man as a result of mastering new techniques and production systems, and set up a feed base, they did not try, as we did, to go straight via the complexes to the radiant heights. They gathered the grain, processed it into good mixed feed, and opened 1,300 stores. And those who wanted could buy the feed and get involved in production. The whole of Hungary quickly got involved, and things got moving without construction work, without special outlay and capital investment.

We sometimes become alarmed at what we see: Livestock numbers are going down—or, more accurately, the proportion of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is—while the proportion of livestock procured in the individual sector is rising. But I think that this is perhaps precisely a case where people have grasped the situation and taken the right path. It takes 5 years, after all, to build new livestock units. Then they have to be brought into operation. Then it is discovered that the unit lacks a feed base around it and that you have to cart stuff more than 20 kilometers, and that over roads which take 7 years to build. People will, however, figure out how things should be run.

Let someone conclude a contract and grow everything—what he wants, where he wants—on his homestead and make use of the waste scraps from his kitchen. You will have milk, meat, and weight gains all the time.

But we are used to dividing everything up into sectors, from one sector to another—it is impossible not to take this into account, not to reckon with that. That, it is said, is impossible, that is wrong, that in general means virtually undermining the kolkhoz system.

It is necessary, comrades, to remove all these barriers. The land is one integral entity: It merely has diverse forms of ownership. One is a kolkhoz, another a sovkhoz, a third is under individual use. But it is nevertheless one land, the property of all the people. What are needed are economic, legal relations, so to speak.

I am a true farmer in the most literal sense of the word—was the way M.V. Saldre from the Estonian SSR's Vyruskiy Rayon, who was presented to the assembly as a lessee of the "Kuldre" Kolkhoz, began his speech. I, he said, have been allocated land in perpetuity by decision of the rayon soviet and I work using my own means of production, I have my own livestock. So I am not a lessee.

M.S. Gorbachev: Not to worry. Only yesterday he was the secretary of a party organization. A fine farmer. One of ours.

M.V. Saldre: You see, our region differs somewhat from the conditions which the previous comrade here described. Our countryside is in the profoundest sense made up of separate farmsteads, remote from one another. Kolkhozes worked the fields on the central farmstead and there remained a very great deal of outlying land which was virtually unused for the production of agricultural output, which simply became overgrown. And that is why we have the conditions for creating individual farms.

I think that leasing is not altogether suitable in such conditions. Say that I concluded a 20-year contract and built my own farm on this land—I have done my job. When the 20 years are up they can say to me that the contract won't be renewed. And no one can guarantee that won't happen.

M.S. Gorbachev: But if there is a law on leasing?

M.V. Saldre: There is, you see, a law on the enterprise.

M.S. Gorbachev: And if that law contains a special section on the family farm?

M.V. Saldre: That would be another matter.

M.S. Gorbachev: I know, but we don't have one yet.

M.V. Saldre: Moreover, the lessee, as history has shown, is not the complete master. The master is someone who knows that the land will belong to his children and that they will work on it if their father instils in them a love for work and the land. But if they run off to the city, then there is nothing to be done, he will have to recognize that all has been in vain.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes, that is true.

M.V. Saldre: And there are concomitant problems here. For some reason—and I don't know who established it—the kolkhoz purchases a machine at one price while I have to pay more. Why do we have unequal prices in our country?

Voice from the audience: That is of local making. It was recently plainly stated in the press that the lessee can buy machinery and other resources at the same prices as the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

M.V. Saldre: We have hitherto, however, been buying at a higher price.

M.S. Gorbachev: It is good that this question has been raised.

M.V. Saldre: A second question. I didn't manage an individual farm before. You won't make a good farmer out of me because I have not been involved in farming since childhood, have not grown up alongside my father. My children may become so, but for this they need special training. I will pay for that education....

M.S. Gorbachev: But we do, after all, have free education: you are no doubt thinking about a grant?

M.V. Saldre: Yes, but, you see, the point is that when my children graduate I want them to come to my farm, not be sent to another farm for 3 years. And for that the existing procedure has to be changed.

M.S. Gorbachev: True.

M.V. Saldre: In 18 months I have virtually caught up the kolkhoz's figures and even partially overtaken them. But my business is not fully developed yet, because everything has to be bought, made, and built—and that can't be done all at once. You need large resources to set up a proper farm.

M.S. Gorbachev: What about credit?

M.V. Saldre: Farmers are not yet getting credit. Moreover, the credit situation is such that only R7,000 is allocated for construction. You can build foundations for that money, but not a building.

M.S. Gorbachev: This question is important too. Under capitalism farmers have access to credit, but not under socialism? So people will still say that you are acting illegally, that you represent an illegal enterprise, so to speak.

M.V. Saldre: Yes, that is so. Indeed, my activities are not legal all across the country, just in this republic.

M.S. Gorbachev: We'll make them legal.

M.V. Saldre: I pay just as much to use the land as the kolkhozes—R350 per hectare. But I think road construction should not be the responsibility of farmers. Because then they could put a barrier across the road and say: "Stop, nobody uses this road except me." Roads should be built jointly, with state aid.

M.S. Gorbachev: The problem has been raised. In our discussions it is important that everything is taken into account and analyzed, whereas it used to be the case that if people were worried about something they were left to sort it out themselves. Tell me, what kind of farm do you have, what are its results?

M.V. Saldre: I have 28 hectares, of which 21 hectares are workable; I specialize in milk production. I have no accounts along the lines of kolkhozes. I spend money and note it down myself. This year I'll sell 184 quintals of meat to the state per 100 hectares and 1,250 quintals of milk.

Mutual relations in rural cooperative collectives were discussed by V.V. Ushakov, first secretary of Chita Oblast's Karymskiy CPSU Raykom. The rayon has set up 245 cooperatives at 6 farms and 5 enterprises in the service and processing sectors. Fifteen cooperatives are headed by Communists, and 69 by agricultural specialists.

The party raykom had to do a great deal of explanatory work before people grasped the essence of what was planned. Economic and political studies had to be radically changed, making our basis the study of economic knowledge.

Not everything went smoothly. We did not avoid errors, but the most important thing to be remembered in organizing matters is that we must ensure that everything is wholly voluntary and democratic, so that people can immediately feel free and independent with regard to administration. This not only inspires them but also gives them confidence in their own abilities from the very outset.

The creation of new forms of production organization brings about a need to change the internal structure of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They will continue to be the main cells of the socialist state. We are talking about further developing kolkhozes and sovkhozes as cooperative associations and restructuring their activity on a cooperative footing. They have become associations of primary cooperatives working on contract and economic accountability principles. The speaker pointed to specific examples of the effective work of primary cooperatives.

The cooperative economy in the rayon is today becoming an association—an alliance of primary cooperatives headed by the soviet. It is made up of the chairmen of primary cooperatives and management group specialists.

At the rayon level a cooperative association has been set up as an association of cooperative farms and enterprises, where all workers—from the chairman of the association council to ordinary workers—will make their money from the primary cooperative's economically accountable income on the residual principle.

All cooperatives are very much economically dependent on each other.

Relations with banks remain unresolved. Primary cooperatives are not given credit to buy machines and equipment and cannot open accounts at the Agricultural Bank—consequently, reciprocal accounts are kept within the farms only. Cooperatives can no longer conduct any operations outside the farm framework, and this is restricting their opportunities. At the same time, all other cooperatives—in public catering or other spheres, for instance—do have the right to engage in such activities.

Cooperative members are pointedly raising the question of acquiring machines and equipment for the local processing and sale to the state of quality milk, meat, and vegetable products.

M.S. Gorbachev: Where are the cooperatives that should be starting to produce small pieces of equipment for processing, that could produce finished products right on kolkhozes? How much produce would be saved! After all, incidentally, all front-ranking farms have processing shops, brickworks, canning plants, shops producing winter clothes, and other shops for production sharing with industrial enterprises. Because people are released during the winter.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich! A cooperative has been set up to manufacture equipment for small brickworks.

M.S. Gorbachev: There you are—they should be set up. We must destroy the monopoly attitudes that have developed in our country.

M.N. Onishchenko of Borisenko Kolkhoz in Chernigov Oblast's Prilukskiy Rayon talked about labor organization in the lease collective he heads. The 10 machine operators in the tractor team have switched to the lease contract: They obtained equipment and 946 hectares of land. We feel that it is our land, the speaker said. Certain people were scared that we were being tricked and that various things would happen. We said: "Forward, men!" We are our own bosses, we have no team leader or accountant—there's nobody, just us. Then, when we had coped with our tasks, we helped other departments. The 1987 wheat harvest produced 56 quintals per hectare. This year the figure is over 50 quintals. We're no longer scared, we're moving forward, we've shown everybody.

The fall plowing is already complete and the fields are cleared. Our combine operators V. Bulba, V. Solovey, and I. Litvin have the best grain yields on the kolkhoz.

This year we signed a contract to lease land and other assets for 10 years. We want to build a road to the tractor team, construct a canteen, and buy a car with our own money. After all, we start work early and end late—there are 946 hectares of fields to cover. We have to do a lot ourselves. But we also hire specialists when necessary: for plant protection purposes, for instance. When we need help on something else we come to an agreement. The way we put it is: If you've helped us out we'll pay you; if you burn something out or do something wrong, you pay us.

I think, comrades, that the lease contract is a very, very good idea. It will really get us working properly.

Ye.S. Stroyev, first secretary of Orel party obkom, mounted the rostrum. The collective contract, he said, produced a breakthrough, and we moved forward. But we noticed right away that there is poor expenditure control in these collective contracts, and the cost-cutting mechanism does not entirely work. We quickly reorganized, and have been engaged in active work on a lease basis since last year. Like a shock wave, the lease system demonstrated its advantages from the very outset. Anyone who even dipped a toe into the water, as far as this new method is concerned, was immediately on its side. For the first time we started seeing just what people could do, revealing their talents and abilities, and an assault was launched against impersonal ownership.

The main thing in leasing today which we have come up against is the form: Which form should we adopt? Today we have many forms, and we would give scope to any possibility as long as it develops—and then we will see what the result is. There are small-group and specialized links. Narrowly specialized lessees have appeared, such as those in the Baltic republics.

We have thought about this, and perhaps political work should be organized in such a way as to find initiators on the most important salient. We used a 36-hour program to train all party gorkom and raykom secretaries, produced certification, trained rayon agro-industrial association chairmen, specialists, and leaders, 90,000 people in all. We had to find trailblazers—people passionately devoted to this field. We began to hold monthly discussions with lessees. What a lively form this is, how interesting it is to work with them. Everyone was sick of conferences and reports, they tormented people. But here there is a thorough conversation about the needs people have. Today we have created over 4,000 leasing collectives of various types: 390 on a family basis, 53 based on the lease contract; and over 500 specialists have now switched to the lease contract, and about 1,000 have expressed the desire to switch to leasing subdivisions.

M.S. Gorbachev: Yegor Semenovich, this is a convenient moment for me to butt in. If you look at the statistics everything seems to be in order with regard to the contract and the lease in our country. Colossal window dressing has not yet been eliminated. If you have the lease and the contract without cost covering and without economic accountability [khozraschet], then that is nonsense, comrades. That is only for the report. We would be very reluctant for the wholesale introduction of leasing, so to speak, to proceed in our country. We must act and work with people.

Now the Orel Oblast countryside has begun to be regenerated. And what is being done unhurriedly, sensibly, by consulting with people, is indeed good and right. We do not simply need some particular tempo, we need real work, a real lease, which will take us forward. As for papers and reports—we have always had plenty of those.

The cooperative movement and the lease, Ye.S. Stroyev stressed in his speech, are an extremely vital and necessary matter. From the time of the New Economic Policy, from the period of collectivization, he said, we are for the first time implementing a reform not only of the superstructure and management structures but also of the foundation of our very life, of the primary production collective, the living cell of our entire system; we are restoring man's natural interest in the land, giving him scope for his intellect and his own initiative.

The floor was given to writer A.A. Ananyev, editor of the journal OKTYABR. Any matter, he said, especially a new one, must be reinforced by humanitarian means, particularly in agriculture, where a psychological change in man is proceeding together with the organizational change. Comparing our agriculture to a kind of clock which must not only be wound up every day, but also be provided with an internal motive force, the writer drew attention to two factors.

The first is parasitism: being paid not for work, but for appearing at work. Yet for 70 years we have said in ideological terms that this is a gain for socialism. And the understanding of any peasant has been that, whether or not there is a harvest, he will be fed.

Another question arises here: If this is parasitism, and we now start refusing to pay for what has not been earned, it means that we will, so to speak, be forcibly driving people into the lease contract. Here there are already many of the symptoms of the short-term campaign system.

I travelled to the Moscow region, as a writer who receives many letters of different kinds. And in a talk with a young family of lessees it emerged that they had set to with enthusiasm: they had been given 7 hectares 13 versts away, 20 hectares also 13 versts away, and 18 hectares 20 versts away. That's the sort of "lease" contract they had. The family was given two tractors—one caterpillar tractor and one wheel tractor. The caterpillar tractor cannot be driven along an asphalt road or moved from place to place at all. Yet in the press we make out that all this is leasing.

There are symptoms that this is a campaign still, on the other hand cannot be a panacea today and there cannot be just one single view of agriculture [sentence as published]. Because where there is grain there are many thousands of hectares, and they have their own forms there, and there may not be an individual farmer; while where there is stockraising, there may be an individual farmer, and so forth. And if we are unprepared for the new type of individual farming, which we do not yet know, then we are not entirely ready for the old type of individual farming, which would at least to some extent partially restore to us today our lost attitude toward the land and our sense of ownership.

A law on the lease is being prepared. It should consider the following point. The land in our country belongs to the people, and it was through legal acts that we gave it to the kolkhozes for their permanent use. But for individual farming to be at least to some extent substantiated this act must, where necessary, be changed and made into an act which hands over land for permanent use without the right to sell it.

To ensure the viability of socialism, we must discard certain forms and seek new ones, and this is an endless process, and today we must look far ahead.

There will be a law on land use. That is a good thing. Indeed, the speaker said, nowadays 80 percent of our perception of the land is as a symbol. I will tell you, on television recently—and I do not want, so to speak, to criticize television men—but a young correspondent suddenly appears on television, beaming with happiness, and says: "Dear friends, only yesterday they were growing potatoes here but now look, there is this combine."

And I think how can that be? Where potatoes did not grow there is no combine, yet it could have been constructed there.

M.S. Gorbachev: I encountered this phenomenon in Krasnoyarsk Kray. How many industrial establishments have been constructed there! And now the entire countryside has been virtually ruined.

"When the family contract appeared, some people believed it was another piece of show," said V.I. Gusenkov, leader of a family leasing collective on the "Tyutchevo" dairy farm, "Vereyskiy" sovkhoz, Naro-Fominskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast. "There were people who watched to see what would happen.

"I have worked for over 20 years as a machine operator, and recently I have been unable to look on calmly when my yard is empty. And so I decided to take the stockraising unit under contract. There are 50 cows on it. Another three families on our sovkhoz followed me in taking up a contract, and now there are already 35 family stockraising units operating in the rayon.

"It may be said that we hereditary peasants have been isolated from the peasantry over long years of work, that we have become hired agricultural laborers. Machine operators have had to assimilate the new profession of stockman. Of course, I prepared for this. My wife worked as a milkmaid on the stockraising unit. I read literature, which I keep with me to this day. The results of the work are good.

"This year our sovkhoz aims to milk 3,200 kg [per cow] and on my stockraising unit I aim to milk 5,200 kg, and I know for a fact that I shall do it. I think that in the near future I will cross the 6,000 kg mark.

"Last year the prime cost of milk on the stockraising unit was R24.49, as against R40.49 for the sovkhoz as a whole.

"It is essential to count not only rubles but kopeks every day. This year, to reduce expenditure on feed procurement, we—the members of three family stockraising units—got together and leased equipment on the sovkhoz and procured 300 tonnes of first-class hay from an area of 60 hectares.

"The price of one tonne of hay was set at R20.30. But after doing the accounts and adding on the overheads for the maintenance of the administrative apparatus, it turned out that we would buy it at R37.5. That is the price set for us in the contract.

M.S. Gorbachev: You are raising a major issue. On the "Zybino" pedigree stock breeding unit, and on other farms where the lease collectives are isolated islands, they have a difficult time. The rigors of the lease, and of complete economic accountability, are applied to them, but at the same time demands are levied on them on the basis of the old instructions. This is a matter for specialists in the agro-industrial complex.

V.I. Gusenkov: Another obstacle arises. A normative value for each hectare of land has not been established. We do not know how much we are going to be paying for the land so we can produce output on it ourselves. It looks as though specialists and leaders—from farm level to the ministry—are cogs in the administrative economic apparatus, as it were, and are the conservatives of restructuring.

M.S. Gorbachev: They are not small cogs, but big bolts.

V.I. Gusenkov: Another thing. The Law on the State Enterprise has entered into force. In particular, it envisages a transition by all enterprises, including agricultural enterprises, to complete economic accountability and self-financing. A leading role is assigned to self-management. But in practice, what has now emerged is a diarchy. The upper echelons in collectives are not giving up their power, and the grassroots, especially on low-profitability farms which exist on subsidies, do not know how to take power and how to exercise it. Leaseholders are fundamentally opposed to paying bureaucratic command personnel, who exist to this day.

The development of the family lease contract is impeded by the fact that our collectives are not supplied with small-scale mechanization facilities. We do not need large, powerful tractors. We need small machines, making it possible to work in our conditions, on our livestock units.

The successful development of family livestock units would be facilitated by standard designs for production buildings combined with housing. We must not adapt the structural components of large complexes and the machinery for them.

We work in an ancillary [chernovoy] service, O.M. Lukyanova, chief economist on the "Ob" Sovkhoz in Altay Kray's Kalmanskiy Rayon, said, so I would like to share my opinion and touch on the urgent questions that have arisen for us during our work over the last 2 years. We have run up against a great difficulty: Economic relations between the subunits within the farm and also between the sovkhoz and us are complex. The links themselves worked out the whole of the allocations and refused even to allow us to help them.

M.S. Gorbachev: Olga Mikhaylovna, what are your relations with the management apparatus like?

O.M. Lukyanova: Bad, to be honest, bad. They don't like us....

M.S. Gorbachev: Nevertheless, what do you see as the way out?

O.M. Lukyanova: We have worked and we are continuing to work, so we are regarded as oddballs in the rayon. But we will carry out production in such a way as to make a profit and operate profitably.

Even people's gait has changed. People have become the masters, they are heeded.

But we are running up against serious difficulties. Take the technical repair enterprise. Because of a 20-kopek gasket they have to install a whole block worth over R1,000. The sovkhoz is losing very sizable funds during testing because of the low quality of output arriving at the reception center. Beets lie on the platform, and losses upon testing are virtually 10 percent. This question must obviously be resolved. The farm has grown the crop, but everything goes down the drain.

M.S. Gorbachev: All the processing must be carried out on a cooerative basis. Take it over yourself. It's your end product.

The floor was given to V.V. Shvets, chief economist at the sovkhoz named for Manshuk Mametova in Tselinograd Oblast's Tselinogradskiy Rayon. No one must be herded into the lease contract, he stressed. It is, if you like, the only mechanism that is to the advantage of a good worker, good specialist, and good leader. The lease contract is advantageous because it puts a person on his feet, makes him the master, gives him the opportunity to become the master.

The lease contract cannot be viewed as a separate form of labor organization and remuneration. It is the mechanism whereby we must raise production relations to a new level.

We have been able to instill a thrifty attitude toward public property. But we know that under socialism the attitude toward public property must be much more respectful than that toward personal property. So the lease contract makes it possible to do this. It makes it possible for a person to show a better attitude toward public property than toward his own.

Another point: The wages that we have spent 30 years improving have given us nothing, they only intensify the contradictions between the administration and the working class. An administrator, no matter how good he may be, wants to pay less. And the person who is being paid always wants to receive more. Wages are a bone of contention, yet we keep on improving them. We should abandon wages and replace them by economically accountable income. Once again, this is achieved under the lease contract. Each worker must know that his personal income increases only if he produces more output, improves quality, or lowers prime cost.

Under the lease contract there must be a contract, a current account, and a checkbook, nothing more. All the stuff that there used to be—economic accountability targets, plans, norms, rates, instructions—must be parceled up and set aside.

A.G. Lukashenko, director of the "Gorodets" Sovkhoz in Mogilev Oblast's Shklovskiy Rayon, described the tremendous explanatory work among the population. First of all the farm's specialists and leaders visited the country's leading kolkhozes and sovkhozes and studied the accumulated experience of lease collectives' work. Then they went "out to meet the people" to explain, persuade, and mobilize. Workers saw for themselves the advantages of the new forms of labor organization and remuneration, and took up the lease system. The main objective here was to ensure that remuneration is earned. The management apparatus was reduced and labor productivity rose sharply. It emerged that there is a lot of spare equipment.

The number of administrative and management personnel changed. There used to be 67, but now there are just 22, yet they carry out the same amount of work, and do it well.

In the speaker's opinion, the leaseholders need an adequate quantity of small machinery, construction materials, and good technical and consumer services.

The speech by the writer I.A. Vasilyev was listened to with interest. He proposed that lease relations be developed not only on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The soviets must widely utilize this right, in full measure. A sovereign soviet must inevitably be an issuer of leases. It has reservoirs, forests, and state land at its disposal. In Pskov and Kalinin Oblasts there is plenty of vacant land and a lot of deserted villages. So why not lease out this effectively abandoned land?

The party has adopted a firm course toward the lease system and the cooperative contract. But old instructions are still in force in our country. The law forbids the leasing of land. Any prosecutor will say: No, you cannot, you cannot squander the land, it is state land, you do not have the right to lease it. The upshot is that party decisions are not fulfilled. In the speaker's opinion, the obsolete laws and departmental instructions that are not in line with today's course should be suspended now, while the laws on the lease system are being elaborated.

The leaseholder, the individual farmer, the cooperative member, and any other trailblazer, so to speak, needs very rapid, good-quality services. Above all, it is necessary to construct housing more swiftly.

We have driven our animals into concrete stalls. We are driving men into concrete "boxes." People cannot be treated like this. Indeed, we have so much concrete that we can produce impressive pillboxes made of 60-70cm blocks and bricks. We put up a box and say: There is your housing. The Gosstroy issues directives, the oblispolkoms confirm and adopt them, but now the chairmen are finally rebelling and refusing. It appears that it possible to build timber homes quickly and cheaply, if only you want to.

But the home is not everything. Then you have to build the outbuildings, a small workshop. I advocate individual farming in its pure form.

We will not revive the peasant in people, in the farmers who grow crops, unless we revive the peasant family. Look at the teachers who are lamenting the present state of our schools. Parents have drawn away, but a parent who is an individual farmer will never draw away from the most active labor education of his children. This is why I am in favor of individual farming.

The time has come when every man can develop into an individual—this is how the present stage of the development of economic relations in the countryside was described by O.A. Dementyeva, leader of the "Kochergino" family-run dairy stock unit on "Rogachevskiy" Sovkhoz in Moscow Oblast's Dmitrovskiy Rayon. Nowadays it is interesting to work on the land, when you can see the fruits of your labor, she said. Formerly I was working as a bookkeeper in the sovkhoz. In 1988, my husband and I took on the least-developed stock unit which had the lowest milk yields—the yield was 2,600kg per feed cow. The prime cost per quintal of milk was R50. This stock unit was run by nine persons. Now it is just the two of us running it. We are looking after 108 head. This year our average milk yield per cow was 4,200kg, while the prime cost of output in the first 9 months was R20.42.

There are internal farm problems, of course, but they can be resolved immediately. We are given help by the party gorkom and the sovkhoz administration.

Our daughters, aged 12 and 14, help us meet our family contract. They are quite good at working with the herd. My brother and his wife have now joined us in the stock unit. We are organizing a new stock unit to be run by all four of us; we will raise our own calves and then sell them.

We workers have realized that family lease contracts are advantageous for the family and for the farm alike.

The quest for a correct correlation between social and individual interests is tremendously important, V.Kh. Bambayev, first secretary of the Kalmyk ASSR's Iki-Burulskiy CPSU Raykom, noted in his speech. This is a practical task of life. We immediately realized that there were no ready-made prescriptions, that answers must be sought not in the cool silence of offices but by approaching the communists, the workers, the people. As a result of numerous conversations and discussions between the rayon party aktiv and our workers, specialists, and leaders, we came up with the idea of setting up a sovkhoz-individual cooperative for the shared production of wool.

For example, the sovkhoz, as a corporate member of the cooperative, brings into the cooperative flock its share of 800 sheep. The shepherd teams, made up of four members as a rule, bring 200 sheep into the flock. In other words, the sovkhoz's property in the cooperative represents 80 percent, while the individual subsidiary farms of shepherd team members account for 20 percent. These cooperatives started operating in September of last year.

As a corporate member of the cooperative, the sovkhoz assigns to this internal farm sovkhoz-individual cooperative its rights to property, excluding sheep, and other fixed means of production—sheep pens, feed, machinery, and equipment—and provides transportation and veterinary services: in other words, all that the cooperative needs for its activity. Labor remuneration is charged against gross revenues. Following the sale of produce to the sovkhoz at purchase prices, the cooperative recoups all material costs, and any remaining economically accountable revenue is divided in proportion: 80 percent to the sovkhoz, 20 percent to the shepherd team, according to the size of their share. Both public and private sector sheep are now mixed in the cooperative flock without distinction. Economically accountable income, and therefore the prosperity of shepherds' families, now depends on the way every single sheep is looked after, how well it is fed, what the wool yield from the entire flock is, and the survival rate of young animals.

A total of 43 shepherd teams out of the 400 shepherd teams on the rayon's sovkhozes have joined sovkhoz-individual cooperatives. The linking of labor remuneration with end results, and with the quality of the cooperative herd, has changed people's attitudes to the flock and made it like that of a proper steward. Men are no longer making the distinction between what is theirs and what is not.

M.S. Gorbachev: And the main point, Comrade Bambayev, and I am well familiar with this experience, is that wool yields from groups of invidually-owned sheep are always 10 kg, against 4-5 kg from kolkhoz and sovkhoz sheep. So the kolkhoz-individual cooperative fuses and harmonizes interests.

V.Kh. Bambayev: Now, in order to increase their economically accountable incomes, shepherds have started seeking all sort of untapped reserves. Shepherds teams in in the cooperative are now effecting savings of everything, and in everything. Stockmen are now in no hurry to call out carpenters or joiners, and in general strive to make as few calls on others as possible—it is more advantageous to do things themselves. The new methods for calculating consolidate people's position as stewards of production. Stockmen now strive to ensure high cooperative results, bearing in mind that this will increase their share of the income as part of the cooperative's total economically accountable revenues.

N.N. Dubina, chairman of the "Leninskiy Put" Kolkhoz in Tula Oblast's Yasnogorskiy Rayon, dwelt on the problems of material and technical supplies. They still leave much to be desired. Lease collectives are short of hand tools and equipment. They reject energy-intensive equipment because it is inexpedient to use in small areas. It is also necessary to resolve social questions in the countryside faster. A major role in this has to be played by soviets, which must become stewards with full power on their territories.

Speaking about his work experience, A.I. Zhgenti, director of Saguramoyskiy Sovkhoz in the Georgian SSR's Mtskhetskiy Rayon, noted that this farm was a laggard in the past. Last year's losses amounted to about R700,000. We waited for no instructions from above, the speaker said; we ourselves elaborated conditions for lease relations and started work in the new conditions of economic management from 1 January 1988.

What have we achieved? The sovkhoz management apparatus was reduced from 162 to 117 persons. All who were released entered into lease contracts and started on physical work. Thus we saved about R60,000 on apparatus costs. The most laggard sectors—stockraising and feed production—were combined under one integrated leasing team which took on the land and the livestock, the premises, and the equipment, and is fully responsible for the end results. We support them not only as required by the contract, but also morally. Over a 9-month period milk yields have doubled, and we estimate that they will exceed 3,000kg by the end of the year.

The speaker talked in detail about the work experience of specific lease collectives and individual lessees. He noted that the role and responsibility of leaders and specialists

is increasing as lease relations develop. That is why their interests should also be firmly linked to end results, and the existing system of norm-setting for their work improved. It is necessary to bring sectors providing services, particularly at farm level, into line with lease forms of labor organization as quickly as possible. Otherwise, work will suffer.

The transition to the lease system requires a radical change in statistical reporting and accounting, the farm director stressed. It is also important to streamline the question of pension provisions for lessees.

On the basis of the initial results of lease collectives' work, the leadership of Mtskhetskiy Rayon, with the support of farm leaders, proposed that the republic's Gosagroprom switch the rayon's entire agro-industrial complex to lease relations. These proposals have been accepted and different options for the future economic mechanism of the rayon's agro-industrial complex are being worked out.

D.N. Paliy, chairman of the "Leninskaya Iskra" Kolkhoz in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast's Tysmenitskiy Rayon, talked in detail about the work of cooperatives set up on the farm. They all work under conditions of cost-covering and self-financing. Each distributes equally what they create. If they do not create added value there is nothing to distribute.

Our net profit was R2.2 million. We have paid back R2 million to the state in the past 3 years.

The need for a top-heavy administrative apparatus has receded. If cooperatives want to take on a specialist they set the salary themselves. We have started to award prizes to enterprising people. And all the others have pulled their socks up in like manner.

The accounting system has been reorganized. There is a financial and accounting center. A cooperative bank works in association with it. All cooperatives have three accounts each. One for basic activity, one for the material incentive fund, and one for the sociocultural development fund.

Cooperatives have gained young people's respect through their own work. Whereas previously it was hard to attract young men and women to work, there is now a kind of competitive selection system.

The speaker submitted a proposal aimed at improving the training of specialists in accordance with the processes currently taking place in the countryside. He also supported the previous speakers' proposals on the need for fundamental transformations in the material and technical backup provided to kolkhozes. This concerns truck supplies in particular. It is a paradoxical situation: Fuel is in short supply yet each truck carrying hay, haylage, and other goods, for instance, is only one-third full. And we end up using 2-3 times more fuel for deliveries than we should have.

Experience shows that the extensive introduction of the lease system and other efficient forms of organizing work incentives are the key components in present-day agrarian policy, Agronomist K. Takhirov, leader of a lease subunit at the "Uzbekistan" Sovkhoz in Syr-Darya Oblast's Mirzachulskiy Rayon, Uzbek SSR, said. By switching to work in the new way the sovkhoz managed to increase raw cotton yields by 4 quintals per hectare. High results are expected this season too. It is characteristic that they are being achieved by a smaller number of workers. For instance, the speaker said, the collective he heads has dismissed 10 people—those who did not want to work conscientiously and to the full. Each worker's productivity has increased correspondingly. Under the lease team form, an economic mechanism takes shape that combines personal interests with the interests of the sovkhoz and the state. Now every collective member is an owner [khozyain] and has scope for both initiative and self-expression. In short, lease contracts make it possible to act conscientiously, creatively, and honestly. However, there are many problems: In particular, there is a shortage of machines and other equipment, and the contribution made by scientists to resolving agrotechnical, economic, and ecological issues in cotton growing is inadequate.

The establishment of close links between lessees and trade was discussed by G.A. Ten, director of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Complex Lenin Wholesale and Retail Fruit and Vegetable Association's No. 2 store in Moscow Oblast. He stressed that produce from lease collectives arrives at stores in good condition. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of other produce—simply because it has a long journey. This particularly applies to fruit and vegetables. Large quantities of them are produced in the country—almost enough to feed the entire country—but much of this produce is lost in transit. This could be avoided by following the example of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Complex system. Its produce goes straight to the stores from the fields.

The speaker proposed making more extensive use of this experience and creating large trading centers for fruit and vegetables with a network of provincial stores. This is the only way to avoid losses of produce—by selling them directly and dispensing with procurement offices, fruit and vegetable associations, and all kinds of intermediaries. Sales should be extensively coordinated and available to all.

Agricultural producers have no time to devote to trade. They must work in the fields and in their own sections. This means that there is an urgent need to ensure that small wholesale markets for fruit, vegetables, and so forth are set up in large cities. This is very necessary.

The speaker proposed that at the end of the "Vremya" program Central TV should broadcast indexes of prices at markets in large cities or at wholesale markets. This information could be obtained from local soviets. Everyone needs price indexes—they will promote the lease system and the production of goods in short supply, and they will reduce prices in places where they are currently too high.

Summing up the results of the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said:

To sum up our discussion, we are generally agreed on one thing: People are the main starting point. Properly trained people, committed people, well-equipped people, and people who love the land and agricultural work. I am optimistic about this, even though this is a discussion about how we have lost a very great deal with regard to country people and the shaping of their lives in the countryside—we have suffered enormous strategic losses. What can I say? This is being experienced by all our society. We have not resolved the food question at a proper level in such a rich country as the Soviet Union, which has everything it needs—including potential for the agrarian sector and for its normal functioning.

We will now have to act in such a way as to create these prerequisites and involve in the solution of the tasks rural people, agricultural workers, and all who want link their futures to the agrarian sector. Create these prerequisites so that people are confident that their labor is highly valued by society, because, I believe, the prestige of peasant labor has been dealt a heavy blow. But I must say that this is not the only difficulty in our restructuring.

We must honestly admit to ourselves that we probably did not have a full picture of the situation when we were launching restructuring. Now we see that everything is much more complex and difficult, although this convinces us yet again of the need for restructuring. We are obliged on the basis of our values and in the context of our socialist choice to revive society. Our socialist system has vast potential for this revival, because it is fundamentally and by its very nature oriented toward and geared to people; people are at the center of all our activity. We must bring the owner back to the land, make maximum use of the potential of socialist ownership, and ensure that people on the land are firmly established economically and legally as owners.

Through the mechanism of democracy, socialist democracy (for no other democracy can do it) we must involve people in the political process so that all the main decisions really are products of the activity of the actual working people and not of the apparatus, even the most competent apparatus, even one that is utterly dedicated to the people. By improving the health of society, through its moral and spiritual rebirth, we must introduce people more to socialist values, to our morals, to human values.

These are all connected anyway, comrades. That is why we are carrying out our restructuring in all these main areas.

I think that all that we have spoken about at our meeting today is also about people returning to basic values, to that which promises and should ensure, through the restructuring of production relations, a new face for socialism, democratization. Through the lease contract and the lease system a colossal democratization is taking place, not only of the economy, but of society as a whole. Everything comes together at this point. It is the most profound, revolutionary restructuring.

This process is also very important because it affects the basis, the foundation of society. Impulses from restructuring immediately carry into all spheres of human activity. Therefore the key task is to restructure production relations. It is a task of paramount importance for the entire economy and agrarian saector.

Let there be a great multitude of new forms. I react with great caution and rather warily to the proposals to create a standard farm. Well, we have had our experimental farms and base farms too. We have had our "models."

I think the main thing is as follows. We have socialist ownership, and its potential must be explored by activating people and strengthening their position in production relations. This is the key aspect, the essence of restructuring. Particularly in the agrarian sectgor, because it is a question of man's link with the land, with living organisms. And this must not be severed. When we do this we cut man off, alienate him from the land, from agricultural production. And this affects the end results of labor in agriculture.

Therefore we must first and foremost restructure production relations in the agrarian sector. And let everything that accords with the specific conditions of the particular farm, the particular zone or region come into play and tackle this task, let it have the right to live. And, in this connection I reject none of the forms mentioned here. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes, cooperatives, lease arrangements, man's link with the land and with the means of production—they represent the foundation. We do not have to reinvent the wheel; we must reveal potential through the cooperation of cooperatives—this is the main direction. And there can be different approaches and forms here too, because kolkhozes and sovkhozes also differ.

In the Non-Chernozem Zone, for example, first it is necessary to create conditions for people to return there, and then the process will take place. This does not remove the need to bring people back to the land in this zone through lease arrangements. But Estonia and the Baltic area have their own established tradition.

It is necessary to integrate the kolkhoz and sovkhoz with the individual sector by means of a contract, to bring the individual sector into production relations, and thereby to make it even more socialist in nature. So that it is not the private operator [chastnik], as they have been scornfully called in our country, but the true, thrifty owner who is is integrated with the collective farm on the basis of socialist ownership.

In short, I would support everything that is justified in practice in the most important area—that of bringing people back to the land through major changes, alterations in economic relations. That is the first thing I wanted to note in conclusion.

Second. We must, after all, say firmly today: Farms must go over to the new economic forms. Then we will not have hothouse conditions for some and grounds for dissatisfaction for others. Here is an example. Akakiy Ivanovich Zhgenti and others have spoken about this. They worked for 8 or 9 months, and look what happened—in just 1 year a farm that had losses of R750,000 is today operating at a profit. And it will continue to gather speed, and people will take heart and begin to believe in their own strength. The main difficulty is to change people's mentality. People wonder: Are the bosses going to deceive us, where are they leading us? It is necessary to act honestly and openly, so that people trust our policy and our practical actions. This is in the interests of our whole society—the working class and the agricultural workers themselves. This can be done only through the harmonization of their interests. The experience accumulated in the country, and there is already a great deal of it, shows that it is necessary to march in that direction along the whole front and go over to the new methods of economic management.

In this connection the question arises: How can we avoid repeating past errors, being misled by "forged" reports, overorganizing the real work, and slipping into fierce rivalry? It is simply a question of the need to work. It is important that everything fine and good that is done today should be people's own decision, the expression of their own will. It would be wrong for us not to do any work to bring people into lease relations, for fear of being accused that we are "driving" people into leasing. No, I think the reverse is needed. We must more widely propagandize, and demonstrate the leading experience and our achievements, so that people can see it, know about it, and study it, so that the topic is constantly in the press and on television.

Look what a drama is unfolding. The most interesting thing of all now is to show and to write about how restructuring is going, and—most importantly—to show that the people themselves are making the decisions. That this is not happening on the instructions of some leadership body. No, people themselves have become aware and are deciding their own fate. And for this to be really so, we need intelligent, sensible, human, economic, and ideological work. It is necessary to ensure that the people themselves master the new methods, rather than going in for all kinds of "dressings down" and drawing up directives and instructions. Only through the propagandization of the best experience, through people's own participation in it, only this path is acceptable to us! This is not a spontaneous process, comrades, it is a nationwide movement, and we must lead it toward new forms, higher productivity, better results.

Society needs the countryside to start producing more top-quality products for the whole country in the very near future. This is a tremendous stimulus. The entire country's need is such that no decent human being can remain indifferent to it. And people will join in this process, which will lead us to new forms of management and new results in agriculture.

We see the causes of our difficulties—objective, subjective, and psychological causes. If we did not see them we would charge in like the cavalry. In such a vast and complex matter this would achieve nothing and would only serve to discredit our entire agrarian policy at a crucial stage of our country's development. So it is necessary to proceed with the utmost tact but also with the utmost vigor toward the assimilation of new methods on the basis of a clear awareness of the reality. It is necessary to make sure that money is earned in the country, not just in agriculture, but everywhere. Money must not be paid out if the required results in terms of labor quantity and quality are lacking. If this is consistently implemented, everyone will, of their own accord, start looking for new ways.

When people are paid for the end product on the basis of quantity and quality, then we will have everything in our country. We will have the means of production and we will have consumer goods. However, if all the people in the various economic sectors try to be clever, dodge, and think only about themselves, if they do not respond to the command of the times, where will we get the goods from, I ask you, to cover the effective demand?

Under socialism everyone must work and, what is more, work conscientiously, collectively, with enthusiasm, competitiveness, and an understanding that this is our society. Therefore, I repeat, the point that has to be made is this: It is unacceptable to pay out money that has not been earned, and that applies to the management apparatus, science, and everyone. When this ceases, then everyone will start looking for new and more effective forms of management, and life itself will push them toward leasing, toward the restructuring of economic relations.

I am extremely satisfied with the discussion that has taken place. We will take the specific problems which were raised here into consideration when elaborating political decisions and—most important—when drafting the laws on leasing and land tenure, the work on which is now getting off the ground.

We must bring strategic concepts and proposals relating to the agrarian policy to the CPSU Central Committee plenum. At the same time the document will be based on a number of USSR Council of Ministers resolutions pertaining to the restructuring of the economic relations of management, social structure, questions of science and technology, and cadre backup. It goes without saying that all these questions must be discussed and resolved with a view to creating socioeconomic, scientific and technical, and legal preconditions for opening up even further the road to progress in our agrarian sector.

This, I repeat again, is what the country and the people need very much. This is the top-priority task which we must resolve under the conditions of restructuring. I thank you all for your active participation.

Discussion With Farmers Reviewed

LD1510111288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1628 GMT on 13 October carries a 60-minute recording of the discussion session at the CPSU Central Committee conference on agriculture.

The first farmer to speak is Chertayev, chairman of the Ordzhonikidze Kolkhoz in Akushinskiy Rayon, Dagestan ASSR. He says that, on his farm, lease relations have been in existence for 4 years already, although the system has not been described as such. The collective has gathered together and decided that the workers will produce the output; the kolkhoz will then buy the output from the workers at the state procurement prices. The workers gave back one half of this sum "as a safeguard for tomorrow". This applies to all—milkmaids, herdsmen, tractor drivers—so that a common thread unites all the workers.

Kondratenko, first secretary of the Kirovogradskiy raykom in Kirovograd Oblast, says that gross output from kolkhozes is less than half that of private plots: "The answer to this burning question is simple: On the private plot there is a master, and only lease contracting can provide such a master on public land." He also appeals to industrial workers to improve supplies of spare parts and the quality of agricultural machinery: "Whereas previously, these serious deficiencies were somehow smoothed over against the background of the general shortcomings, now that the leaseholder is coming into force he is demanding a precise and disciplined attitude. So this is now simply incompatible with the introduction of lease contracting."

Gorbachev interjects: "Comrade, did you catch the weaknesses in the speech by the raykom secretary? The main weakness that I am referring to is the fact that everyone gathered here is in favor of lease contracting, and the question involves drawing comparisons between experience and what it shows. There's no need to try to convince each other here.

The announcer says: "Makarov, the director of the Gusevskiy Sovkhoz in Gus-Khrustalnyy Rayon of Vladimir Oblast, spoke about uniting the forces of industrial enterprises in the upsurge of the countryside. A distinctive cooperative has been created here which, as well as the sovkhoz, includes 12 enterprises. The sovkhoz no longer makes a loss but a profit."

Gorbachev says: "All in all that's an interesting example, comrades. When I was still engaged in agricultural questions in my work in the Central Committee I was very energetically invited to take that path, and asked to support it, first by the people of Arkhangelsk and, I think, Kirov. This idea of uniting industry and the countryside—it's probably good for those regions where the countryside is all covered with workers and somehow you have to create some kind of symbiosis, some kind of form. Your experiment is interesting, very interesting. The main thing is that you have even managed to acquire foreign currency through this experiment, while Gosplan is still investigating how to compile the 13th 5-year plan and where to find foreign currency. [laughter] It's good."

Dhusumbekov, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Talaskiy Rayon of Talas Oblast in the Kirghiz SSR, says that in his farm, sheep-rearing brought together three production associations. Ninety-seven leaseholder families worked in them. A 5-year contract has been concluded between the shepherd families and the kolkhoz administration.

Gorbachev: "Prime costs are two or three times greater. They are unhappy about this. They don't know how to run things and they are forced virtually to mobilize the whole of this staff, as it were, and they are prepared to give all they have simply so that at least something should come of it. For having an organized and organically involved industry, especially when there is such an interest, and involving people from industry, and the foodstuffs, here... you can think what an additional increase there is when it goes directly to these enterprises.... This is all very interesting. We must think about it. For the Non-Chernozem zone, where there is a great shortage of people, this is not a far-fetched matter. In my opinion, it is a vital one. And it is right to go around offices for someone to adopt a decision? What's a decision? We must look for ways. So this is an interesting idea and experiment."

Dzhusubekov says that the leasing system adopted on his farm has been so successful that the plan for sales of meat to the state had been fulfilled with a considerable number of animals to spare. However, a problem has arisen with supplies of fodder to maintain the herds.

Gorbachev replies: "This is an interesting question because the oblast and the rayon are linked with the plan and with the overfulfilment of the plan, and contradictions come about. The farm and its subunits are interested in producing output which is in good condition.

That's correct. But the rayon and the oblast are not interested, because when the plan hasn't been fulfilled it might affect local supplies. I think this is a topic which we must develop."

Shtenlyy, chairman of the Strana Sovetov Kolkhoz in Yerginskiy Rayon, Tyumen Oblast, describes how land, funds, and material resources has been handed over to the peasants on his farm. The result is a significant reduction in the administrative apparatus. The manpower thus released is used to organize subsidiary plots which bring in extra income for the farm. Economic performance has improved considerably. However, the problem of equipping stockbreeding farms is very serious and industry must help out here.

The speaker stresses that household plots have to be developed in all ways possible and that farms must be given the right to acquire lines and units for processing agricultural output.

Gorbachev says: "Aleksey Nikolayevich's speech has brought this thought to my mind: I remembered that at the beginning we were asked in Georgia—this was about 10 years ago—whether, because of specific conditions, production should be planned not on the basis of the kolkhoz or the sovkhoz or the individual sector, but on the basis of the rayon, for all sectors, removing, as it were, the frontiers. At the beginning this was received with skepticism, but when they saw the true picture throughout Georgia—and a significant part of the land there is worth its weight in gold, it's in the foothills—then they understood that this was right and they integrated, so to speak, all the people throughout the republic in a single process of growing citrus fruit. This took place on the basis of combining state and private interests. We made a move to meet their wishes; we freed them from their concern about how it should be marketed and taken; we removed this negative thing which meant that they had to travel around the whole country to sell this produce. Incidentally, this had an effect on the volume of production too, and it improved the situation. Not long ago I was talking with people from my area, and two rayons now, Blagodarnenskiy and another one, have, I think, begun to remove totally all the barriers between the sectors, be it on a kolkhoz, be it on a sovkhoz, be it in the individual sector. It's all the same land, you understand. It's all the same land.

"The Hungarians, when they saw that by means of assimilating new technologies and production systems they had reached between 1.3 and 1.5 tonnes in grain production, and that a fodder base had come about in their country, they didn't wait, and they didn't take the path which we tried of going immediately to the radiant heights by means of complexes. They took that fodder and processed it into good combined fodder; they opened 1,300 shops in that small country, and those who wanted to could take their fodder and engage in production. All Hungary quickly joined in, without any construction, without the expenditure of capital investments, but only on the basis of producing the livestock, of supplying the necessary livestock, and good livestock. They have progressed rapidly, are growing continuously. In our country—I am now looking—the agricultural department sometimes reaches the following analysis, and with alarm: Cattle herds are decreasing—to be more precise, the proportion on kolkhozes and sovkhozes is decreasing and the proportion of cattle procured in the individual sector is increasing. And I think that perhaps this is a case where people see what is happening and have gone over more to the individual method because the stockbreeding units are full. If they are to grow more, then stockbreeding units must be built; it takes 5 years to build them if you don't find 30 square meters of linoleum to cover the roof, you understand. It takes 5 years to build them, then they have to be assimilated, then it's noticed that there isn't a sufficient fodder base around the stockbreeding unit, it has to be transported 20 kilometers and that on roads which are to be built in 7 years time, etc. Evidently, people understand how things should be run. These people live on this land, they use it, they work, and there must be various mutual relations for everything which it can provide, especially since we have removed all these economic ones. Conclude a contract and let man cultivate where he wants, let him use the waste from his kitchen in his household plot—he knows how. Give him hot water when it's cold, let him pat and clean a little and there will be milk and meat and weight gains at any time.

"The person who knows the countryside and who knows rural life can talk about this, and everyone will start to talk about it all. No, you understand in our country we will divide it up into these sectors, we'll even break it up; you can't go there from this sector, that can't be counted, fulfillment cannot be taken into account, incentives can't be counted, this isn't right, that's undermining the kolkhoz system. Comrades, I believe that these things have to be done away with, too, all these barriers. There is one single earth: the ownership of it differs, some forms part of a sovkhoz, some belongs to a kolkhoz, other land is personal, but it is still land—the possession of the whole people. Economic relationships, so to speak, are needed, legal relationships of a kind are needed, but all that has to be removed."

Announcer: "At the rostrum is Marat Saldre, a lease-contractor of the Kundre Kolkhoz in the Voru Rayon of the Estonian SSR."

Saldre: "I am a natural farmer [laughter] in the most direct meaning of the word."

Gorbachev: "Someone concealed that, concealed that [laughter] but I understood—when I looked at your indices I saw that you are a real farmer."

Saldre: "The fact is that the land is in my own personal use, I do not work on kolkhoz land. The land has been allocated to me for permanent use by a decision of the rayon soviet of people's deputies, and I work with my own means of production. I have my own cattle. So I am not a lease-contractor."

Gorbachev: "Well, that's all right. Only yesterday he was secretary of the party organization. He's a good farmer. He's one of ours."

Saldre: "Our district is somewhat different, apparently, from those conditions mentioned by previous speakers. Our villages are not like the villages in Russia. Our village, in the deepest sense, is made up of individual farmsteads situated a long way away from each other. Our kolkhozes, therefore, have all worked the fields near the farm center, and a great deal of land on the outskirts remained which was effectively not used for agricultural production—simply [word indistinct]. I consider, therefore, that we have the conditions for setting up such livestock units. I consider that under our conditions, with the lease-contracting system, when everything belongs to you, it's just the land that belongs to the kolkhozes and you have to have an agreement with the kolkhoz. I do not consider that this is expedient, because you will depend on the kolhoz; you have concluded an agreement with it for 10, 15, 20 years, you've already built your farm there, you've got things going, and then the kolhoz chairman gets the Red Cross syndrome, and he'll say: Well, 20 years have gone by now, there won't be any more agreement. What happens then? No one is guaranteeing to us that this is not what is going to happen."

Gorbachev: "And if there's a law about lease-contracting?"

Saldre: "Well, you see, there's a law on the enterprise. No one's going to be capable of...."

Gorbachev [interrupting]: "And if this law on lease-contracting has a special section about the family livestock-unit?"

Saldre: "That's another matter, when that happens. But so far there hasn't been one."

Gorbachev: "Well, yes, there isn't one yet."

Saldre: "In addition, as history shows us, the person who's on a lease still is not the master, the lease-contractor is no master of the land. The master is the person who knows that this land will go to his children. I know that my children will work this land if I bring them up well, so that they will work there: Of course, if they run off to the town, then there's nothing you can do, you have to accept it and say that it's all been in vain."

Gorbachev: "Yes, that's correct."

Saldre: "In this connection, of course, there are the relevant problems. For some reason—I don't know who worked this out—self-recoupment works like this. The kolkhoz buys a machine for such and such a price, but we have to pay them such and such a percentage more. But we are producers, too. Why are machinery prices for us higher? Why don't we have equal procurement prices?"

Gorbachev—off microphone: "It's local creativity."

Nikonov: "It's not just that it's local creativity, it applies to rural lease-contractors, too. The material that was published puts it bluntly: that the lease-contractor purchases at the prices that apply to kolkhozes and sovkhozes."

Gorbachev: "This is what we asked...."

Saldre—interrupting: "We are still paying a percentage. We don't get things at the same prices."

Unidentified voice: "How much is the percentage?"

Saldre: "I do not know. I think the percentages vary."

Gorbachev: "This is obviously...Boris Ivanovich, what did they apply where the lease contractors are concerned?"

Unidentified voice off microphone: "(?to supply) to lease-contractors at the same prices as it costs the kolkhozes and sovkhozes."

Saldre: "I don't know what happens with regard to the lease-contractors. I do know that Sel-Khoz-Tekhnika sells things in Estonia at prices 20 percent greater than state prices."

Gorbachev: "In fact it's a good thing that you raised the issue."

Saldre: "Yes, and the second thing is that....

Gorbachev [interrupting]: "We'll compel you to take the matter to court and they'll have to return this to you." [laughter]

Saldre: "I haven't bought, I prefer to buy old and to alter it, because the new will still have to be altered, and it's much more expensive to buy." [laughter]

Gorbachev: "Before, you didn't take that into account."

Saldre: "Before it wasn't taken into account. The second question: In order to run a livestock unit, it's the job, well, no one's going to make a good farmer out of me: I never grew up on the farm alongside my father. My children might become good farmers, but for that to happen they have to have education. Who is going to pay for it? Am I going to pay for higher education, or is the

state? Because effectively, as far as my social situation is concerned, I am not given credits by the bank because I don't work anywhere. I cannot bring a certificate that I work."

Gorbachev: "But isn't higher education free of charge for everyone in our country?"

Saldre: "Yes, but you see I said that now...."

Gorbachev [interrupting]: "What you have in mind, no doubt, is the scholarships."

Saldre: "The thing isn't the scholarships, the thing is that as soon as they leave school I will want them to come and join me on the livestock farm and not be sent off to some kolkhoz for 3 years. That's the question. For this some special provision has to be made."

Gorbachev: "Correct, correct."

Saldre: "I'll say this: After 1 and ½ years, I have effectively caught up with the kolkhoz, and in part have even overtaken it. But I haven't yet fully developed my business because I don't have enough money. First of all you have to buy up [words indistinct] and you can't do it all at once. Around R120,000 are needed to set up a normal livestock unit.

Gorbachev: "And what are the credits like?"

Saldre: "So far no credits have been obtained by the livestock farm."

Gorbachev: "Are they refused?"

Saldre: "Because we don't work anywhere. And in fact the situation with the credits is as follows: For example, for the construction of a subsidiary building it is R7,000. For this the farmer can build the foundation, not the building.

Gorbachev: "All right, this question, too, about credits has to be dealt with. How is it that under capitalism the farmer enjoys credits, but once again under socialism he doesn't?"

Saldre goes on to say that he doesn't think that farmers should bear the cost of road construction. Gorbachev says: "The problem has been raised. For me the most important thing in this discussion is that now everything is being taken into consideration and analyzed, whereas before it was a question of who would be bothered with it. Now please tell us what your farm is like and tell us about your results."

Saldre gives production figures for his farm.

V.V. Ushakov, first secretary of Karymskiy Raykom, Chita Oblast, told of the rapid development of lease-contracting in the rayon. "The rayon party committee had to carry out a large amount of propaganda and explanatory work before people could understand the essense of what was intended. It was necessary to radically alter economic and political education, and to base it on the study of economics, the economic mechanism of the cooperative and the works of the Marxist classics." Viktor Vasiliyevich Ushakov also stressed: "We do not forget personal household plots. The population has about 3,000 of these. They are united and separate cooperatives which fully resolve all the questions which arise, providing fodder, undertaking the marketing and processing of the output received from the personal plots."

Gorbachev then interjects: "Cooperatives once again, once again collectivism, once again, on the same land, under soviet power, once again collectives. Individual farms enter into cooperatives so that they back up the interests of the individual farmers and formulate requests. Cooperatives once again. This is life being lived, you understand, living socialism, the living creativity of the people. That is a phrase from Lenin: Socialism is the living creativity of the people."

Mikhail Nikolayevich Anishchenko, head of a leasing collective of the Zavet Ilicha Kolkhoz, Kazankovskiy Rayon, Nikolayev Oblast, told of his personal experience in leasing. The important thing was the feeling of independence and personal responsibility. Lease-holders achieved much better results than those in the old system.

Gorbachev interjects: "So your slogan was correct: Forward, lads." [The audience laughs.]

The announcer gives a brief summary of the remainder of Anishchenko's speech: "However, the lease-holders, Comrade Anishchenko went on to say, have very many problems which hinder their work. For example, it is very difficult to buy a truck or a minibus. There is a shortage of fuel and lubricants. But thanks to leasing, absenteeism and false- accounting have totally disappeared even though they used to be on a vast scale."

Yegor Semenovich Stroyev, first secretary of the Orel Obkom, reported that lease-contracting is very popular, and quoted several figures to show the growth of this system in the oblast.

Gorbachev says: "Yegor Semenovich, it is an opportune moment for me to put a word in. If one looks at our statistics, on the whole, everything is all right with contracting and leasing, in general, especially with contracting. Everything is under contract and soon everything will be under lease. This is colossal eyewash which is in evidence again. It is all coming back to us from the past, you understand. We need proper leasing and proper contracting! Without self-recouping and financial autonomy this is all rubbish, comrades, it is only for reporting back! That is why I am putting my word in—we do not

need just some tempo, you see, we see, we need real work and real leasing which will secure our progress. We have always had enough papers and reports!"

Stroyev says that they have cut down on the number of reports required from lease-holders, requiring only payment for the lease. Urban rayons have been set the task of building settlements on loss-making farms and this has brought great improvements in farm output. On the question of what is hindering leasing, Stroyev opines: "In my opinion, conservative thinking is the most difficult question, Mikhail Sergeyevich." And Gorbachev concurs: "It is the most difficult one." Stroyev goes on: "None of us should oversimplify this factor, for opposition to leasing today comes most often in a hidden form, often hidden under the flag of struggling for the purity of socialism. I speak about this with pain, because we are continuing to train young specialists in the higher educational establishments with the old dogmas."

Anatoliy Andreyevich Ananyev, chief editor of the magazine OKTYABR, calls for a change in people's psychology. He says: "I know that a law is being prepared on leasing and I know that a plenum is being prepared on agrarian policy," and he suggests that the law should contain provisions to hand over land to farmers in perpetuity without the right to sell it. Ananyev goes on to complain that good agricultural land is being built over unnecessarily.

Gorbachev interjects: "I came face to face with this phenomenon in Krasnoyarsk Kray. How many there are there—Divnogorsk and Biryusa—we all sang the song about that with the whole country—how many there are of them: Krasnoyarsk, Sayano-Shushenskaya, Kansk-Achinsk, and so on, Norilsk and all the rest. And at the same time the whole countryside has been virtually ruined. And who will live there, and how? Because thousands of millions have been put in, and quite correctly, for the development of productive forces, and the country cannot live without the things that that kray produces—but the agrarian sector, the land, and the people have been given a back seat during all of this development and progress. The people have abandoned this land and gone off to the bright lights of these towns like Sayano-Sushensk, while still singing that song about Biryusa, you understand. [laughter] Now when you get there they say: Well is there anything or not? And that is Biryusa."

Vladimir Ivanovich Gusenkov, a leader of a family leasing collective from the Vereyskiy Sovkhoz in Naro-Fominskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, explains why he and his wife decided to lease a livestock farm. He notes that under the old system milkmaids on loss-making farms did not get paid in accordance with their work.

Gorbachev interjects: "I understand that, in general. That is what I mean when I talk about such distortions; I understand that situation. If a milkmaid is not paid at a certain level for her work on a farm then it will fall into last place and it will become depopulated. That should not happen. I must say that. A way out must be found and these farms must be given a second wind."

Gusenkov says that he had to study documentation to learn his new profession. Gorbachev says: "Now study material like that is needed. It must be published and read. "Gusenkov tells how he is teaching his three children to help on the farm, including his first grade daughter. Gorbachev interjects: "You are breaking the law there," and the audience laughs. Gusenkov explains what work his daughter does on the farm and Gorbachev says: "She is working within her capabilities." Gusenkov's farm is achieving much higher milk yields than the rest of the Kolkhoz.

Olga Mikhaylovna Lukyanova, chief economist of the Ob Sovkhoz, Kalmanskiy Rayon, Altay Kray, tells how leasing has led to increased profits but various difficulties need to be removed.

Vasiliy Vasiliyevich Shvets, chief economist of the Manshuk Mamedov Sovkhoz Tselinograd Oblast, relates how leasing has increased profits and improved people's attitude to work. "Lease contracting is advantageous because it is precisely this which makes people masters and creates opportunities for them to be masters. For who would not want to be master? People have been waiting for this feeling. They have been waiting for 70 years. They want to be masters." Leasing improves people's attitude to property, which was previously frequently squandered or stolen. He says that for leasing, "The mechanism must be simple. If things are made complicated, comrades, the peasant will be frightened off the land and leasing."

Gorbachev says: "Vasiliy Vasiliyevich, have you read the recommendations from Gosagroprom and Vaskhnil?" Shvets replies: "Yes, I have. I took part in the discussions which went toward drawing them up. But in their current form, comrades, excuse me, but they won't do. If things are done in accordance with those recommendations, nothing will come of it."

Gorbachev says: "That is correct." Shvets continues: "Under lease-contracting there must be no instructions from above. The lessees, themselves, make their own instructions. We have just one instruction and just one law: grow more and reduce costs. Then the income will increase and more products will be created. And that is the only instruction that is needed. But with all this bureaucracy it will not be possible."

Gorbachev asks: "Well, what is needed, Vasiliy Vasiliyevich?"

Shvets replies: "Well, a law on leasing is needed, of course, absolutely. It is necessary for lessees to feel that their efforts have been made legitimate."

Aleksandr Grigoriyech Lukashenko, director of the Gorobets Sovkhoz, Shklovskiy Rayon, Mogilev Oblast, said that lessees should be given equal conditions with workers still under the old system. The final results would be the best argument to persuade people of the advantages of leasing. He tells of the great successes achieved by leasing on his farm.

Gorbachev interjects: "Listen to what is happening, comrades, see how people are revealing new qualities; now it seems that there is enough equipment. Just look. People's attitudes are everything. The land is being ruined and equipment is being ruined, and everything. So that if we do not restructure production attitudes, if we do not make people and their interests the center of attention, and if we do not create good living conditions and make it worthwhile for them, nothing will come of it, nothing will come of it, everything will fail, you understand." Shvets goes on to say that the development of lease contracting will greatly depend on improvements in the material and technical base.

Writer Ivan Afanasiyevich Vasilyev notes the importance being given to changing people's psychology. He also expresses the opinion that the local soviets should be in charge of allocating leases.

Olga Alekseyevna Dementyeva, leader of a family dairy products farm on Rogachevskiy Sovkhoz, Dmitrovskiy rayon, Moscow oblast, talks about the farm's successes.

Comrade Bambayev, first secretary of the Iki-Burulskiy raykom, told of the experience of Kalmyk sheep-rearers. A sovkhoz-individual cooperative system has been introduced. Gorbachev interjects: "Well, now, there's something, you know. In this sovkhoz-individual system there is a mingling of interests and things are harmonized, so to say."

Comrade Dubina, chairman of the Leninskiy Put, Yasnogorskiy Rayon, Tula Oblast, spoke of the shortages of appropriate equipment.

Akakiy Ivanovich Zhgentiy, director of the Saguromoyskiy Sovkhoz in Mtskhetskiy Rayon, Georgian SSR, told how the farm's results had been improved by leasing.

Dmitriy Nikolayevich Pavliy, chairman of the Leninskaya Iskra Kolkhoz, Tysmenitskiy Rayon, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, told of the work of cooperatives on his farm. "We have made it legal for bankruptcies to occur. If a cooperative does not ensure its technological value, we tear up the agreement, and we have brought in the principle of socialism: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

Gorbachev interjects: "According to his work." [laughter]

Pavliy replies: "I am sorry, according to his work. Mikhail Sergeyevich, it's my nerves, please excuse me."

Gorbachev says: "Well, communism is a good thing to wish for." [laughter] Pavliy goes on to tell of the financial successes of leasing. He calls for students to be taught in accordance with the new entrepreneurial principles.

Takhirov, agronomist and leader of a leasing section of the Uzbekistan Sovkhoz, Mirzachulskiy Rayon, Syr-Darya Oblast, Uzbek SSR, told of successes in raising productivity.

Georgiy Aleksandrovich Tyn, director of Shop No 2 of the Lenin wholesale and retail fruit and vegetable association, Moscow Agro-Industrial Complex, Moscow Oblast, said that produce from lease-contractors was of high standard, but often got spoiled in the trade network: produce should go straight from farm to shop.